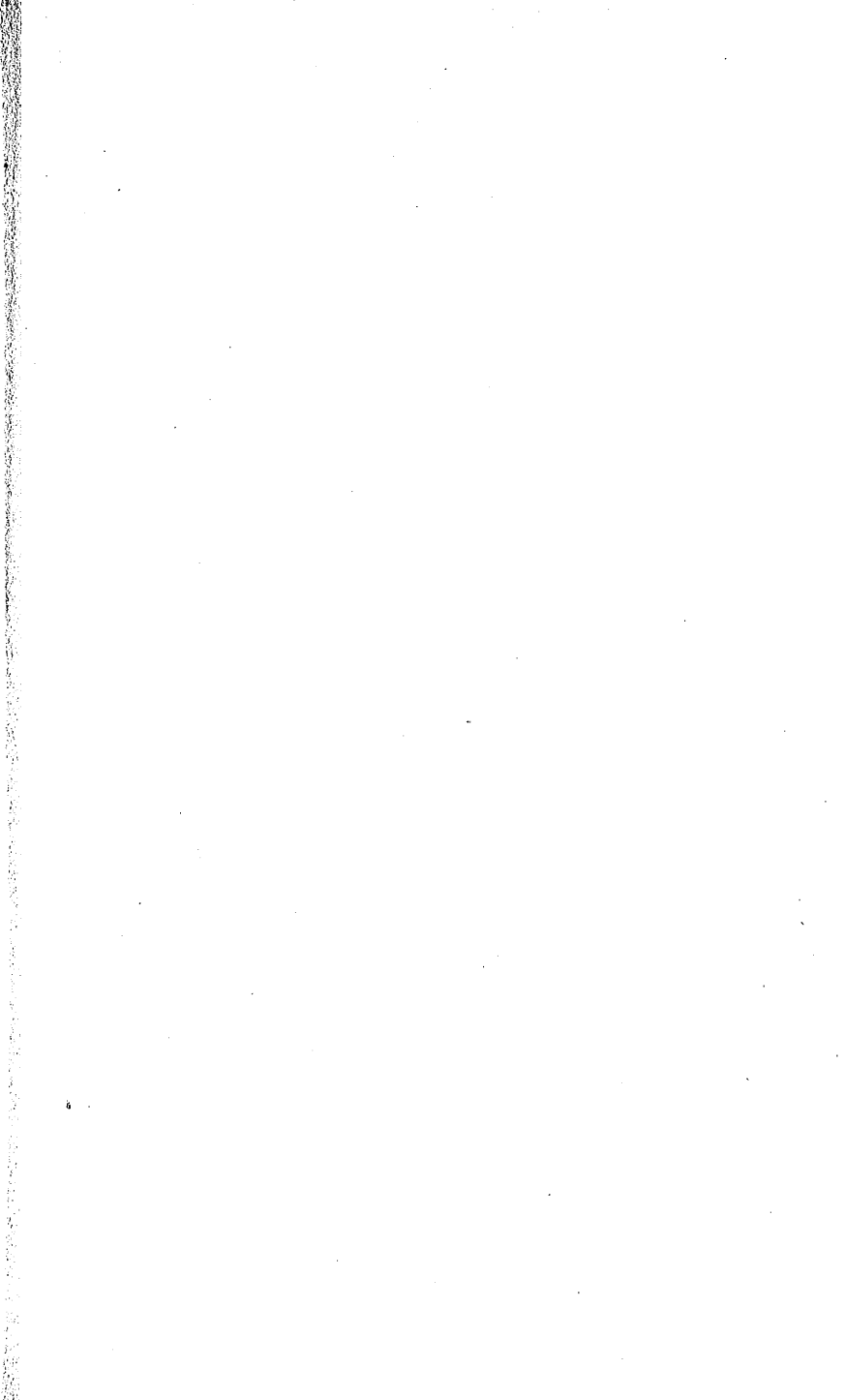




Gift of  
W. A. S. SAN GARDE  
of Lancashire





## THE FOUR WITNESSES

*By the same Author*

A MODERN HANDBOOK TO THE OLD TESTAMENT

A SCHOOL LITURGY

MEDITERRANEAN CIVILISATION

# THE FOUR WITNESSES

by

R. B. HENDERSON, M.A.

HEADMASTER OF ALLEYN'S SCHOOL, DULWICH



WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD  
99 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.1

BS 3555

.H49

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1933



V. J. SON GARDE

Set in Monotype Old Style, Series 45-II, and printed at  
The Windmill Press, Kingswood, Surrey

1127

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

THE author's thanks are due to a host of friends, too numerous to mention by name, who have given much time to proof reading and have rendered invaluable assistance by their advice. With this help, so ungrudgingly offered and so gratefully accepted, many blemishes, both of matter and manner, have been eliminated.

Gratitude of a very special kind is due to the Rev. L. B. Cross and the Rev. R. G. Griffith, who have placed their scholarship unreservedly at the author's disposal.

The courtesy of the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press in permitting the text of the Revised Version to be used must also be acknowledged.

## AN APOLOGY

IN this book, the same point will sometimes be made in more than one connection. Such repetitions have been allowed to remain whenever they seemed to make for completeness of the argument in hand and it is hoped that the assistance thus rendered to the general reader will in some measure compensate for the irritation caused to the expert.





## PREFACE

THE preparation of this book was originally undertaken in order to acquaint the general reader with the main results of the work of scholars in a field of study which must always be of interest to anyone who lives in a land which is professedly Christian. Most people are aware that, during recent years, great changes have taken place in the attitude of scholars towards the Scriptures and it is probably well known that it would now be difficult to name a scholar of standing who would be willing to subscribe to the doctrine of verbal inspiration as applied to the Bible. But there are many people who, though by no means resembling Gallio, are necessarily in a state of indecision. They do not know the extent to which scholarly criticism has gone or how much of the Bible is still held to be true in the sense in which that word was used in this connection a generation ago. Are the records of the Gospels, for instance, still considered to be trustworthy, and if not, what modifications should be allowed? To these and similar questions the reading public has a right to perfectly full and frank answers. The answers can be obtained, but only at the cost of more time and labour than most people can give to this admittedly important business. This book is offered in the hope that it may prove to be of assistance to such readers.

At first, the author's intention was to confine himself strictly to one part—the most important part but still not the whole—of a vast field of labour. He wished to give to the public an account of the present position of scholarship in regard to the first three Gospels, those, that is, of Matthew, Mark and Luke, and originally it was his desire to present only such results as would be certainly acceptable to the majority of scholars. As the work took shape, however, this aim came to be both modified and extended. First, it soon became evident that some preliminary work must be attempted before any approach to the Gospels themselves could be made with profit—hence the two chapters at the beginning

dealing with the Bible as a whole and with the preparation for the Advent of Jesus Christ. Secondly, it was found impossible to keep always to the primrose path of agreement. Over and over again a choice had to be made between conflicting opinions. The author hopes that he has not failed in his attempt to indicate, throughout the book, which are the agreed opinions of scholars and which are those put forward on his own responsibility. The most that can be claimed for the work, as it now stands, is that it is a unity presenting one view throughout and that this view is not wholly indefensible at the bar of scholarship.

The account of the sacrificial system among the Hebrews, which is outlined in Chapter II, has behind it the authority of the late Dr. R. H. Kennett, and for a fuller exposition of this very important subject the reader is referred to *A Modern Handbook to the Old Testament* which, though it bears the present author's name, was written almost at the dictation and certainly with the full approval of Dr. Kennett himself. The *Handbook* outlines a view which has one advantage over any other with which the author is acquainted, in that it gives unity to the whole of the Old Testament; the present book is intended to continue this work of unification.

If the reader is curious to know how much of this book is in any sense original, there will be at least one point of contact made between him and the author, for he, too, would much like to know that very thing. The author's debt to others is great; in such a field as this, it would be impossible for anyone to work by himself, even if he wished to do so, and it is by no means easy to indicate how much of what follows in these pages is the result of the independent researches of the author and how much has been borrowed from others. Dr. Kennett has been cited as a creditor, the indebtedness to Harnack for the wording of Q is obvious, and to the late Prof. B. W. Bacon's *Studies in Matthew* for the sections dealing with that Gospel, while no-one who has undertaken prolonged work on the Gospels will need to be told that Rushbrooke's *Synopticon* and Thompson's *The Synoptic Gospels*, have been constant companions, but many others have been laid under contribution. Some are mentioned in notes or text and such mention has, of course, always been made when-

ever the author has been aware of the origin of his thoughts. It is, however, almost certain that instances will be found of unacknowledged borrowing and the author can, in these cases, only throw himself on the mercy of the bereaved.

If the knowledge and memory of the author are to be trusted, two features of the book are original in that they have not previously been put before the public.

(a) The nature of Q (the lost document used by Matthew and Luke) as a treatise on the lines of the Fourth Gospel.

(b) The critical apparatus made by dividing the first three Gospels into their component parts M, Mk, Q and L and the use of this apparatus in the last four chapters of the book. In its application to questions of vital importance, points have emerged, small in themselves but of cumulative effect, which form parts of an exegesis that may have some slight claim to originality, though from the nature of the case, every single point could probably be paralleled in the work of others.

As regards Q itself, a word of explanation may not be out of place. The texts were investigated independently, *de novo*, and only after the third attempt at reconstruction was the result compared with that of the experts. It then became clear that there was a strong resemblance to Harnack, and a further word to word comparison with his work led to an even closer agreement in the text of Q. The changes made under the influence of Harnack hardly ever affect the sense; the only important examples of modification are to be found in the wording of the voice at the Baptism, which is mentioned in the notes to Q, and in the text of Q Chapter 11, where Harnack's version is adopted. (Harnack was not, of course, the only, nor was he the first, scholar to plead for "hath known" instead of the Biblical "knoweth.") It is necessary to labour this point because a casual reader acquainted with the work of Harnack—work of a superb character which it would be an impertinence in the present writer to praise—might easily suppose that the attitude adopted in this book towards Q is the same as that of Harnack. This is not so, for although Harnack, in the beginning of his book, certainly maintained that Q was a treatise, he ended by calling it "The Sayings of Jesus." Now, while it is true that, by a process of selection, a collection of sayings may become

a treatise, there is little or nothing in Harnack's collection to indicate that a co-ordinating mind has been at work behind Q. The present author's contention is quite different; to him it seems that Q must have been a great work constructed on a definite plan and that that plan must have borne remarkable similarities to, along with some equally remarkable divergences from, the Fourth Gospel. Everyone has noticed the resemblance to St. John, both in thought and diction, of the passage containing the words, "No one hath known the Father save the Son . . ." but, hitherto, people have been content to conclude that Johannine thought must go back to the earliest stratum of our tradition, and therefore cannot have been the invention of the Fourth Evangelist. In this book an attempt is made to show that the affinity between Q and John is not confined to this one passage, but goes much deeper, affecting the whole work and touching such important questions as the present judgment, the future consummation, the relationship of Jesus Christ to God and the universal birthright of man. It is true that there are differences between the two authors; it seems that their use of Old Testament prophecy was by no means the same, and most people will think that the Christology of the Fourth Gospel goes beyond that of Q. Moreover, the argument from miracles is deliberately set aside by Q, whereas it appears to occupy a prominent position in the Fourth Gospel. The differing attitudes of the two authors towards the Old Testament must always divide Q from John but, on the other points of apparent divergence, much good may come from a renewed study of the later in the light of the earlier writer. This, however, is outside the scope of the present volume.

Lastly, let us all imitate the Jews of Beroea who were more noble than those in Thessalonica and examined the Scriptures daily to see whether these things were so—in other words, let us never forget to check all references.

R.B.H.

*Dulwich: March, 1933.*

## CONTENTS

|                                                | PAGE |
|------------------------------------------------|------|
| ACKNOWLEDGMENTS                                | v    |
| AN APOLOGY                                     | v    |
| AUTHOR'S PREFACE                               | vii  |
| PROLOGUE                                       | xiii |
| <br>CHAP.                                      |      |
| I. INTRODUCTION                                | I    |
| II. THE OLD TESTAMENT AND APOCALYPTIC WRITINGS | 14   |
| III. THE CRITICAL APPARATUS                    | 26   |
| IV. TEXT OF Q WITH NOTES                       | 42   |
| V. TEXT OF M WITH NOTES                        | 100  |
| VI. TEXT OF L WITH NOTES                       | 138  |
| VII. THE WITNESS OF Q                          | 186  |
| VIII. MARK, MATTHEW AND LUKE                   | 199  |
| IX. OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECY                     | 213  |
| X. ESCHATOLOGY                                 | 226  |
| XI. MIRACLES                                   | 236  |
| XII. THE ATONEMENT                             | 245  |
| EPILOGUE                                       | 269  |
| APPENDICES—I. SON OF MAN                       | 272  |
| II. TERMINAL PASSAGES IN MATTHEW               | 274  |
| III. REMAINING PARTS OF M                      | 275  |
| IV. REMAINING PARTS OF L                       | 279  |
| INDEX                                          | 283  |



## PROLOGUE

AN artist may show us, by a painting or sculpture or poem, 'what God is and what man is,' but to be able to do this, he must surrender his whole soul to his art; he cannot work for gain, nor can he work to the order of man. His works are born, not of the will of man, but of the will of the Divine. He can only say what his Muse bids him say. If he forsakes her, and speaks as man would have him speak, or even as, following his own wishes, he would speak himself, then his inspiration will leave him. He speaks, not of himself; it is the Divine Voice speaking through him.

This is no mere poetic fancy; it is plain fact, and it can be applied with doubled force to Jesus of Nazareth. He listened always to the Divine Voice and, because of his obedience, his values were God's values; his knowledge of God the highest, deepest and widest to which man can attain; his judgments were therefore God's judgments. In other words, he spoke with the voice of God. By equating his will to that of the Father, he made himself, to the scandal of "the Jews," (in John), the equal of God.

God speaks to some men directly, and that must also mean that He speaks to others through them. There is the light lighting every man, and there is the special illumination of Jesus Christ. God reveals himself to artist, to poet, to dramatist, and, through these, the inspired message comes to all. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to refer to the voice of Jesus as the voice of God; for God, who spake by the prophets, could best speak to mankind through man.

Nevertheless, a difficulty occurs at once. Jesus could only speak to the men of his own time and could only deal directly with the affairs of his own generation. No other kind of message would have been intelligible, but by a careful and minute study of the way in which Jesus dealt with the people and the problems of his own day, we are able to discern the Mind of Christ himself. We have, in our records, enough to enable us to recover his judg-



ments and his values, and because his will was in perfect accord with that of his Father, these judgments and these values are those of God Himself. The Fourth Evangelist is expressing this truth when he makes Jesus say, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father."

Further, these judgments and values of Jesus are valid for all time, and are precisely what the world needs to-day. It has always needed them; since God made the world and rules it, no other system than His can ever be practically successful. The world has tried many other systems and they have failed. The threatening chaos of our present civilization is due to nothing else than ignorance of God's purposes. At least, this must be the belief of everyone who is convinced of the existence of a righteous God. The Christian goes but one step further and maintains that Jesus Christ has revealed to mankind just that system of values which can save the world. It is the aim of Biblical criticism to recover this system of values.

## NOTE

It is customary to refer to the first four books of the New Testament as the First, Second, Third and Fourth Gospels. These numerals so used refer, therefore, to the position of the books as printed in the Bible—not to the order in which they were originally written or published. Chronologically the order would be:

Mark, Luke, Matthew, John  
or (less likely)  
Mark, Matthew, Luke, John

Matthew and Luke were published independently, at about the same time. Probably Luke preceded Matthew but, as it is agreed on all sides that neither writer was acquainted with the work of the other, the order is not of much consequence.

Again, the use of the *names* Matthew, Mark, Luke and John must not be taken as indicative of any theories as to the authorship of the books.

Thus:

“The First Gospel”

“The Gospel according to St. Matthew”

“St. Matthew’s Gospel”

are all ways of referring to the book which stands first in the New Testament. No scholar to-day believes that it was written first, and not many would maintain that the author of it, as it now stands, was Matthew the Apostle.



## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

THE reformers of the sixteenth century found their chief strength in the moral weakness of contemporary Rome. A corrupt Church can have little claim to infallibility, and the increased knowledge brought by the Renaissance soon made everyone aware of the difference in ethical standards between the early Christians who produced the books of the New Testament and the Mediæval Popes who waged war against the possibly heretical, but certainly pious, Albigenses and made money by the sale of indulgences.

Now a persecutor may be a man of outstanding probity; it is well known, for example, that Innocent III, under whose orders such terrible cruelties were visited upon the Albigenses, was himself a man of the greatest piety who led a life of conspicuous virtue. This, however, only served to bring into greater relief the faults of a system which could induce a man of blameless personal character to sanction hideous atrocities in the execution of what he conceived to be the will of God.

As for the doctrine of Ecclesiastical Infallibility which now so sharply divides Roman Catholics from Protestants, this question was hardly discussed in the sixteenth century. In a sense, indeed, the Reformers accepted the doctrine but preferred the authority of the first generation of Christians to that of the last. Thus, as the books of the New Testament represented Christian opinions of the first century, it came about that the infallibility of the Church was exchanged for the infallibility of the Book. The idea of infallibility was congenial to mediæval minds but is repugnant to us, and it is for this reason that we are justified in classing as mediæval all doctrines founded on and arising out of the belief in an infallible book, even though such doctrines persisted until the end of the nineteenth century and may still be found in odd places in the twentieth.

Increase in knowledge of all kinds, but especially in knowledge of the Scriptures themselves, rendered the belief in an unerring book more and more difficult to maintain, and by the beginning of the present century it must have been clear to the most conservative scholars that the time was approaching when no one with any pretension to detailed acquaintance with the works in question would be able to defend the traditional view. That is the position at which we have now arrived and it is remarkable that the journey should have taken us nearly four hundred years. The contradictions between one book and another, and sometimes even between different parts of the same book, are so obvious, the contrasts between the teaching of some of the authors as to the nature of God and of man and what we think must have been the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth are so glaring, that it almost seems as though the failure of our ancestors to recognise the truth must have been due to mere perversity.

Yet mankind is not usually more perverse in one generation than in another, and there was a very good reason for the reluctance of Christians to desert the apparent safety of belief in the literal truth of the Scriptures, however irrational such a belief may be.

The Books of the Bible tell us about Jesus Christ. In the Old Testament we learn something of the manner in which a people with a genius for religion was prepared for the advent and for the rejection of the Son of God. The Gospels tell us of this Advent and the Acts and Epistles show us some of the results of the impact of the personality of Jesus Christ upon the world.

And this is all we have. If therefore we cannot place absolute trust in these records, how can we acquire a knowledge of Jesus himself? If faith in the Bible as an unerring account is destroyed, how can faith in Christ remain? The difficulty is a very real one, and there are still many good and innocent people who believe that the higher critics are destroying the sheet-anchor of Christianity. There is even an element of truth in this charge against the scholars, for though the anchor has not been destroyed, it has been weighed. A ship anchored in the roads may be safe, but it cannot travel very far; moreover, our anchor was beginning to drag and what the scholars have enabled us to do is

to heave it up and get under way. It is not the big and heavy anchor that helps the mariner to steer his vessel but the little delicate instrument called the compass, and our compass is not the Bible but the Spirit of Truth.

Yet the difficulty remains; these books contain almost all we know of this vital matter and, if they cannot be trusted, all is lost. Of course they *can* be trusted, though not quite in the manner of past times. Every one of the authors is trying to tell us something of the truth as it appears to him. They are all honest and sincere, and from their varying views we can form a picture of the Christ which will satisfy not only the man of religion but also the student of history. The method of history is one of trial and error and it is the only way by which the truth can be reached. We read our sources, formulate a theory which will account for what we find and test it again by reference to the sources. It may truly be said that since Jesus lived every generation has rediscovered Christ for itself.

Another illustration may help to explain historical methods. Let us imagine ourselves wandering over a large country house; there are many rooms and corridors with windows opening to all four quarters of the sky. At noonday every part will be lit by the rays of the sun, yet it may be that no single window will give a direct view of the source whence comes all the light. As we study the lights and shadows, the colours and contours of the objects in the various rooms, it might be possible to *deduce* the existence of an outside source of light as the cause of what we saw. So it is with the Books of the Bible and especially those of the New Testament. From a minute examination of their witness, we can find out what we wish to know of the personality of Christ and can trace the effect of its advent in the world. But it must be plain from this that we shall need every art known to scholarship and every faculty of heart and mind if we are not to be deceived by a picture less brightly coloured than the truth.

The various Books of the Bible are so many pointers to Christ. We have abandoned belief in their infallibility just because they bear witness to one greater than the writers themselves. Whereas

our mediæval ancestors accepted the Bible as the supreme and infallible authority and then tried to explain Christ, we reverse the process by first accepting Christ and then trying to explain the Bible.

The difference is vital and the advantage entirely with the modern approach. The fears of preceding centuries have proved groundless and the Christ revealed to us by modern methods is far more glorious than any conceived by the mediævalist. He is the One for whom the world is waiting and without whom it cannot be saved. But this is to anticipate and, in an introductory chapter, we must be content with humbler themes.

The Bible is a great collection of books representing much of the best literature produced by a specially intelligent and very peculiarly-placed people. It may be regarded as a book of history or as a group of literary works of a very high order, or, again, as a book of religion. Nor are these views mutually exclusive; most of the Books demand attention as history, literature and religion all at once, though it will be obvious that in certain passages one aspect will be more prominent than the other two. For example, Esther and The Song of Songs are literature and have little bearing on history and less still on religion; while Job is at the same time a great poem and a book of religion of great importance, but it could be ignored by the political historian.

**THE BIBLE AS HISTORY.** In the modern sense of the word very little of the Bible is history at all. The historian's task is to reconstruct the past, to people it with real human beings and to enable us to appreciate what they did. This was not the aim of any of the authors of the Biblical Books. Their object was didactic and they made use of the past as lessons for their contemporaries. Each writer affords most valuable evidence of what was acceptable in his own time, but only indirectly does any one of them help us to understand times earlier than his own. Although, however, the Books of the Bible are not history, they are what is, for the general reader, perhaps more interesting still. They are history source-books, that is original documents by the help of which the historian performs his task; and so the Bible provides

the amateur with a unique opportunity for the exercise of his own historical faculties.

Nowhere else can be found a collection of such first-hand documents dealing with the story of an extraordinary people, and the reader is able to realise for himself the fascination of historical reconstruction. It was Aristotle who said that the greatest joy in life was to be always learning something, especially something about men; what kind of men or women they were who did such and such things. Aristotle would have revelled in the Bible, as all Greeks revelled in Homer.

There is, however, another characteristic of the Bible of equal interest and of far greater importance. It is the literature of a people who were never for long successful in any of their exploits and who were, for the greater part of the time, in continual fear of total defeat and extirpation at the hands of external foes. Nearly all the other records we possess of ancient peoples are written from the standpoint of the conqueror. We may speak of the power of ancient Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Media or Persia. We can attach meanings to "the Empire of Athens" or "of Alexander" and, by the time of the Birth of Christ, the Roman Empire had spread over the whole of the Mediterranean Coasts; but *there was never a Hebrew Empire*. On the contrary, so far from being able to extend their sway over other peoples, the Hebrews were themselves frequently conquered by their more powerful neighbours, and even during those short periods when they were independent, they went, politically speaking, in fear of their lives.

We listen, in the Bible, to the voices of the oppressed, and this is a matter of the first importance, for it profoundly affected their outlook upon life, and the religious development which has influenced the world so deeply would have been quite different if the Hebrews had been a successful race. As conquerors they could not have made their peculiar contribution to the world's experience. As conquerors they could not have written the Books of the Bible.

THE BIBLE AS LITERATURE. Translated from the Hebrew and the Greek into the noble prose of the Authorised Version, the



Books of the Bible stand first in the front rank of English letters. There were several versions which preceded the final edition of 1611 A.D., but they all owe so much to the original translation of William Tindale that it is to him that we should regard ourselves as chiefly indebted. His monument stands on the edge of the Cotswolds overlooking the Severn Valley, where he was born and where he spent much of his time. It is well that he should be honoured now, but mankind can never make amends for the horrible treatment measured out to him in this life. Persecuted, hunted from country to country and from town to town, his works destroyed time after time, this hero eventually received the martyr's crown. Some of his work was done in prison, and in 1536 he was burnt as a heretic.

Tindale's translation is of such uniform merit that some of the original books have not only escaped the loss usually associated with changes of language but, actually, from a literary point of view, have gained greatly by passing through the hands of this genius. That is the case, notably with the Book of Daniel in the Old Testament and the Gospel of St. Mark in the New Testament, but we are told by Hebrew scholars that the noblest parts of the Old Testament—such as the best-known passages of Isaiah and the greater part of the Book of Job—are even finer poems in the original than they are in the Authorised Version.

The Bible is, moreover, a treasure-house of stories for people of all ages—savage stories some of them may be, but so beautifully told that, as *literature*, they never lose their charm. No reader could ever forget Joseph and Samson, Saul and David. Then again, with what dramatic power the historical incidents are described. Read the account of the Revolution of Jehu in 2 Kings IX. or of Bathsheba and David in 2 Sam. XI. or again, in 2 Kings XIX., of the repulse of the Assyrians when about to besiege Jerusalem.

As literature, the Old Testament is, perhaps, grander than the New. There is more scope for dramatic writing and most of the poetry occurs in the more ancient work, but the New Testament also contains some fine pieces of writing. There are the parables, the story of Lazarus and, among the Epistles, the thirteenth chapter of the first to the Corinthians.

As we have it, however, our Bible is a Tudor Book and therefore the study of Hebrew should never be neglected, for although we may lose little in the music of the words by using our translation, it must not be forgotten that only one versed in the Hebrew tongue is competent to act as arbiter when questions of meaning arise.

This applies, moreover, with equal force to many of the New Testament writers. *Luke*, it is true, was a Gentile, but all the other authors were Hebrews and, though they use Greek words, their thoughts always travel along Hebrew lines. In some books, notably the Gospel of St. John, it is almost certain that the author was thinking in Aramaic, which was the contemporary Hebrew, and translating as he went along. Moreover, many of the New Testament writers make use of Rabbinic methods<sup>1</sup> in presenting their views to us. These methods exhibit some peculiarities of which full account must be taken, if the real meaning of the books is to be found. This applies with especial force to the Gospel of Matthew, the Epistles of Paul, the Epistle to the Hebrews and to the Fourth Gospel.

Leaving aside both the merits and the dangers of our translation, we can discover a purely intellectual joy in the remarkable literary problems with which the Book presents us. Many of the Books of the Old Testament and at least two of the New are composite works, and problems of date, authorship and conflation which arise are fascinating to the student. Nor is it true to say that this is a fruitless pastime, for the solutions at which we arrive often have a profound influence upon the meaning to be attached to the books themselves and, in any case, accuracy in such matters may be regarded as an end worthy of attainment for its own sake.

THE BIBLE AS A BOOK OF RELIGION. To some readers this will be the only and to many more it will be the chief interest in any study of the Bible. It stands in an unchallenged position as the most important religious book in the world, and the fierce criticism to which it has been subjected has served rather to

---

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 23, 207, 209.

increase than to diminish its value. This criticism has, it is true, destroyed completely and for ever our belief in the infallibility of the book, but it has at the same time helped us to see deeper, fuller, and truer meanings than were known to our predecessors. No religious man need be unduly disturbed if some people prefer to approach the Bible along historical or literary lines, for if it is read or taught with any intelligence as history or as literature, the religious truths it contains will, of necessity, speak through the history or the literature, and speak in tones that cannot fail to be heard. In fact, this method of approach, if wisely used, is to be preferred to that of the Bibliolater who makes no allowance for historical development and confuses the primitive ideas of God found in the earlier books with the glorious revelation of the Gospels, or who, again, is content with St. Matthew and dares not or cares not to reach through him to Jesus Christ himself.

All parts of the Bible are not of equal authority and, to distinguish one from another, the scholar's aid must be sought. A century's work has brought to light two very important features of the book which were hardly understood or were wrongly emphasised by mediævalists. Both relate to development—one of organisation and practice and the other of religious thought.

The first is the synagogue. In New Testament times, we are all familiar with this Meeting-House where the faithful assembled, Sabbath by Sabbath, to read, to sing praises, to study, to pray and to listen to exegesis or exhortation. All this is in great contrast to the worship of the temple with its sacrificial offerings. The temple at Jerusalem differed in no essential way from a Greek or Roman temple. It is true that it was devoted to the worship of a Being who was believed to be the only God, but there were Greeks<sup>1</sup> and Romans who were monotheists. It is true also that there was no image<sup>2</sup> of the God in the temple on Mount Zion, and this gave it some advantage over the heathen temples. Yet we think no worse of the Athenians for placing a statue of the Virgin Goddess in their great temple on the Acropolis, nor

---

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. the Choric Odes in *The Suppliants* of Æschylus.

<sup>2</sup> Of course, idolatry (worship of the thing seen) is a terrible evil and it is greatly to the credit of the Hebrews that it was forbidden in the Decalogue.

do all Christians regard an image of the Messiah as a blasphemous addition to the adornments of a Cathedral. These things being so, it must be admitted that it is difficult to make out a strong case for the temple of the Jews as against the temples of the heathen.

With the synagogue, however, it is different. In the Jewish Meeting-House there grew up a form of worship which differed in kind from the services of the temples whether Jewish or Heathen, and which, in all essentials, closely resembled the forms in use in every Christian Church to-day. We have no record of the beginnings of the synagogue, but it is reasonable to trace its birth to 621 B.C., when King Josiah destroyed all the local sanctuaries and limited the sacrificial system to the one place at Jerusalem. All this makes a strange story, and only by the scholar's aid can the tale be made intelligible.

The second feature of the Bible as a Book of Religion is even more important. It shows men grappling with the problem of evil. The authors of the Books of the Old and New Testaments are not alone in their quest for a solution of this darkest of all mysteries surrounding our life on earth, but it is their glory that they explored the approach and helped to set our feet on the only way that can lead to solution. In the Old Testament we are offered faulty and partial answers to this most urgent religious question. These early answers cannot satisfy us; nevertheless each contains some part of the truth. Finally, we are confronted and almost dazzled by the grand fatalism of the author of Job, by the hedonistic cynicism of Ecclesiastes, by the plaintive offering of the suffering servant passages in Isaiah, and the Old Testament has nothing further to tell us. The modern approach to the awful doctrine of the Atonement must begin, though it cannot end, with the Old Testament writers.

## THE OLD TESTAMENT

The Old Testament is a collection of books of very great importance. Each of these books has value for the scholar and student, whether the object for which they are studied be historical

or religious; but the inexperienced reader needs a solemn warning against the supposition that all parts of the Old Testament have the same, or anything like the same, permanent value. It cannot be too clearly understood that by far the greater part of the Old Testament is by no means to be regarded as fit preparation for the teaching of Jesus Christ.

The dangers are not eliminated merely by saying that in the pages of the Old Testament we can study the slow development of man's ideas of God. If this were so, the books would reveal their meaning to us by a mere rearrangement in chronological order. Such a rearrangement would doubtless be a considerable gain, but it would not go very far towards removing the chief difficulties. It is not merely that the earlier books show a cruder theology than the later ones. The truth is much more complicated than that—it is also very much less to the credit of some of the authors. Actually, many of the earlier writers are more advanced than many of the later ones. To take an outstanding example: Amos is at once the earliest and one of the *best* writers in the whole of the Old Testament, whereas the story of Adam and Eve, though probably well-known *as a story* even before the time of Amos, did not take its place in any authoritative book until about two hundred years after that time. The Pentateuch as a whole was compiled in the fifth century B.C., and yet the general level of its teaching is below that of the eighth and seventh century prophets.

The case is even stronger. Many of the books of the Old Testament not only fall short of the best of their own time, they are in direct opposition to the teaching of the true leaders. Take, for example, the very important question of human and animal sacrifices and all the underlying conceptions of God involved in such a system. Amos and Hosea in the eighth century, Micah and Isaiah in the seventh, and Jeremiah in the sixth, all opposed the system and would have rooted it out utterly if they had had their way; yet the Pentateuch, published as law in the *fifth* century, insists on all manner of sacrifices. Both sides claim the authority of Moses for their views, but we need have little hesitation in accepting the very strong evidence of the earlier writers and believing that the teaching of Moses was ethical and *not* ritual.

We know, because he has told us, how strongly Hosea (c. 735 B.C.) condemned the Revolution of Jehu which had been instigated a century earlier by Elijah and Elisha; it will be instructive to try to look at the Pentateuch through the eyes of this great man, supposing that he could have seen it. He did not see it, because it was not then written, but we can be fairly certain of the reaction it would have caused in his sensitive mind if he had been permitted to read its pages. With the folk-lore sections of Genesis he would probably be familiar, and he may even have known the story of Creation told in Genesis II. Genesis I with its ascending series, almost suggesting evolution, had probably not yet found its way into Palestine from Mesopotamia. The stories of Joseph, of the Egyptian bondage, the exodus, and the entry into Canaan would have been taught to him in his childhood, but the book that would have caused him most astonishment would have been Leviticus. In that book he would have found all the doctrines he most detested ascribed to his own master Moses, all the hideous ritualistic practices, against which he issued his thunders, ascribed to Moses, whereas they were known to him as heathenish rites taken over from the Canaanites.

Deuteronomy would have puzzled him sorely, for in the hortatory passages at the beginning and the end he would have recognised his own teaching, but in the middle of the book he would come across the amazing injunction to sacrifice only at Jerusalem. "Why sacrifice at all?" he would exclaim. "Moses said nothing about sacrifices, but if they *must* be, why only at Jerusalem? And if at only one place, why Jerusalem rather than the more important"—he is a northerner who is speaking—"Bethel? And if it must be a southern sanctuary, why are the claims of venerable Hebron ignored?"

Modern scholars are of one mind in splitting up the Pentateuch into four sources, which are named, P, J, E and D. P, Babylon; J, Southern Palestine; E, Northern Palestine, represent the three different traditions of the three great communities of Hebrews, but—and this is by far the most important point—*all these* are utterly opposed to the teaching of the five great pre-exilic poet preachers, Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah and Jeremiah. Deuteronomy (D), it is true, represents a compromise, and the

sermon passages therein show the influence of Jeremiah. The Ten Commandments, as we have them, come from the same source, but all the ritualistic teaching is anti-prophetic. It is not merely that we are reading the words of people in a primitive and, therefore, forgivably ignorant state—the authors are in *opposition* to the truth; they are sinning against the light.<sup>1</sup>

It amounts to this: in reading the Old Testament, we are safe with the five great prophets we have just named, we can give full weight to Job and to Jonah, though, especially with Job, a commentary will be needed; use may be made of some, and some only, of the Psalms, while the greater part of the Old Testament<sup>2</sup> is chiefly valuable as very great literature, a storehouse of beautiful stories, a blend of history and folk-lore of the very greatest value to all who love such things, but, if used for theological purposes, subject to revision at every turn, lest we encounter that stern rebuke, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of," uttered when James and John quoted Elijah as a precedent for the action they wished Jesus to take.

If it is correct to regard the Old Testament as a preparation for the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as it certainly is, it must also be remembered that Jesus was put to death and his Gospel rejected by those religious leaders who were themselves the direct descendants of the men who were responsible for large parts of the book.

A study of the Old Testament will, however, be of very great assistance in another way. It will accustom us to the *language* which Hebrew writers use. Hebrew idiom is strange, and it must be allowed to sink into our minds before we can expect to understand a Hebrew writer. Nor does this warning apply only to the Old Testament. New Testament writers use Greek, but, with the

---

<sup>1</sup> Read a chapter or two of Leviticus (a very little will suffice) and compare it with Amos V. 21-25, and Hosea VI. (in v. 6 the Hebrew text forbids burnt offerings unequivocally), and Micah VI. 6-8, and Isaiah I. 10-20, and Jeremiah VII. 1-26 and XXXI. 31-34. There can be no doubt which breathes the finer spirit—these prophets or the author of Leviticus. Yet the dates of the prophets are 740-600 B.C. Leviticus was published near the middle of the fifth century.

<sup>2</sup> An exception must be made of the Apocalyptic writings, such as Daniel and Zechariah IX-end, which are dealt with in the next Chapter.

exception of Luke, they were all Hebrews, and they necessarily made use of Hebrew modes of expression. The most important difference between an ancient Hebrew and a modern Englishman lies in his use of metaphor. The Englishman uses metaphors sparingly and never mixes them. The Hebrew hardly opens his mouth without uttering a metaphor and does not hesitate to use more than one at once, because he looks always to the *end* and never to the means. He takes a metaphor, uses it for his immediate purpose, throws away what is not needed and takes up another one, thus making kaleidoscopic changes of metaphors.

A very good illustration of this Hebrew method—of a simple not mixed kind—occurs in the most familiar passage in the whole Bible, the Lord's Prayer. We are bidden to pray God not to lead us into temptation, yet we know that God tempts no man, and English readers have been known to be puzzled by this prayer. No Hebrew would have misunderstood its meaning, which expanded into modern English might be translated: "Do not allow to arise around us circumstances which will cause too great a strain upon our loyalty." It is a concession to human weakness, not a suggestion that God could be cruel.

Imagery plays a far greater part in Hebrew writings than in any modern work except the most elaborate poetry. Hebrews do indeed very often make use of metrical verse in places where most modern writers would be content with plain prose. Obviously the Psalms are poems. The Psalter was the Jews' Hymn-Book, but most of the prophetic writings and nearly the whole of the Book of Job are in poetic form, and the same thing applies to many of the sayings of Jesus himself. Often the most absurdly disastrous results follow a too literal interpretation of the Scriptures. Whenever literal and metaphorical interpretations are equally possible, it will be almost certainly the metaphorical one that was intended by the author, and this applies quite as forcibly to the New Testament as it does to the Old, and is a matter of great importance, the neglect of which has often led to most erroneous conclusions.



## CHAPTER II

### BACKGROUND TO THE NEW TESTAMENT

It is not always realised, even by close scholars of the Old Testament, that every one of the five great Prophets of Israel before the Babylonian exile was a deadly foe of the sacrificial system. Not only is this true, but two of them, Amos and Jeremiah, directly claim Moses<sup>1</sup> himself as their authority in the matter. Hosea, Micah and Isaiah are as strongly opposed to the priests as are the other two and, though they never have occasion to refer to the time of wandering in the wilderness in this connection, they imply by all their teaching that they know of no such system of sacrifices as was afterwards imputed to Moses.

As this is a very important point, it will be well to set forth the teaching of the five great prophets in their own words.

Amos V. 21 ff. "I hate, I despise your feasts, and I will take no delight in your solemn assemblies. Yea, though ye offer me your burnt offerings and meal offerings, I will not accept them: neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts. Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols. But let judgment (*i.e.* justice) roll down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream. Did ye bring unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel?"

In this passage, as indeed in the other passages from the prophets quoted below, the repudiation of sacrifice is *absolute*. It is not stated that Jehovah will not have sacrifice unless it is associated with righteousness, but that He desires righteousness and does *not* desire sacrifice. Further, the question whether the Israelites in the wilderness offered sacrifice clearly expects the answer *No*. The argument is, "If you did not offer sacrifices in the

---

<sup>1</sup> The *name* of Moses does not occur in these references to the times in the wilderness.

wilderness, why should they be necessary now?"<sup>1</sup>

Hosea VI. 6. "I desire mercy and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings."

Since it may perhaps be supposed that what Hosea here says is not that Jehovah does not want burnt offerings, but that He desires first and foremost true religion (the knowledge of God), it will be well to state plainly that this is not implied by the Hebrew. Hebrew possesses no comparative degree of adjectives, and a more precise translation would be "the knowledge of God *as distinct from* burnt offerings." An exactly similar sentence is found in Psalm LII. 3,<sup>2</sup> where the psalmist certainly does not intend to imply that the tyrant loves good at all. (Cf. also Proverbs VIII. 10.)

Isaiah I. 11 ff. "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord: I am full of the burnt offerings of rams and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats. When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, to trample my courts? . . . Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth: they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them."

Micah VI. 6 ff. "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good, and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

No one can fail to notice that in this passage the prophet includes in one category, and in one condemnation, both those sacrifices which, in the final form of the Pentateuch, are prescribed as essential, and those which are absolutely prohibited.

---

<sup>1</sup>The Greek Bible, on which St. Stephen (Acts VII.) was dependent, has entirely misunderstood the Hebrew. In Amos V. verses 26 ff. have no immediate connection with verse 25, and the verbs in them are future: "Ye shall take up," and "I will cause," etc., as in Revised Version margin.

<sup>2</sup>"Thou lovest evil more than good."

Jeremiah VII. 21 ff. "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel: Add your burnt offerings unto your sacrifices, and eat ye flesh. For I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices: but this thing I commanded them, saying, Harken unto my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people: and walk ye in all the ways that I command you, that it may be well with you."

To many English readers who assume that "burnt offerings" and "sacrifices" mean the same thing, verse 21 conveys little meaning. It must be remembered that whereas in the "burnt offering" (Hebrew *'ola*) the flesh of the victim was consumed on the altar, in the "sacrifice" (*zebhab*) only the blood and fat were offered at the altar, the rest of the victim being cooked and eaten. Jeremiah here sarcastically tells his people that if their object in sacrificing is to have a meat dinner (to "eat flesh"), it is a pity to waste any good meat by burning it. Let the people add what they habitually burn to that which they habitually eat, and have meat to their hearts' content. Then, dropping his sarcasm, the prophet goes on to assert that sacrifice is not an Israelite institution. It formed no part of the teaching which Jehovah gave to Israel at the time of the exodus from Egypt. Jehovah's commands have to do with ethical righteousness, and not with matters of ritual.

It is evident that the prophets could not have spoken in such a way if, in their days, any version of the Pentateuch had been accepted as canonical scripture. It is clear that they knew and appealed to, an entirely different tradition of Israel's sojourn in the wilderness, according to which no sacrifices were offered during that period.

From these and many similar, though less emphatic, passages it is clear that *all* the five great pre-exilic prophets were opposed to the entire system of sacrifices and must therefore have been the enemies of the priests, whose living depended on the maintenance of the system. It is clear, too, that they regarded the institution of sacrifices not as Mosaic but Caananite. Their cry was "back to Moses and the times in the wilderness" when their fathers had worshipped God without these heathenish rites.

Nothing but the total abolition of the system of sacrifices would have satisfied these ardent spirits, and for centuries this was the aim of the prophetic party in the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah.

Samaria fell to Assyria in 722 B.C., and thenceforward the story is mainly concerned with Judæa. In 621 B.C., a hundred years after the fall of Samaria, a compromise was reached and, under King Josiah, the Law of the One Sanctuary was enacted and afterwards embodied in the Book of Deuteronomy together with sermons which bear the impress of the Prophet Jeremiah. By this law, all sacrifice was forbidden *except in the one Temple at Jerusalem*. Clearly this compromise, like most compromises, was illogical and could not wholly satisfy anybody. If Jehovah did not require sacrifices of His people, then sacrifices were as repugnant to Him at Jerusalem as at the far more ancient Hebron, and if, on the other hand, He was pleased with multitudes of rams and he-goats, then the provincial sanctuaries should have been preserved and allowed to add to the number of sacrifices.

Although, however, the Deuteronomic Law was indefensible on any reasonable, logical or religious grounds, although it gave complete satisfaction to none and some cause of complaint to all alive at the time, and although Jeremiah refused his name to it, the Reform it effected was a very real one and was destined to have the most far-reaching consequences.

Even in 621 B.C., the time was not far distant when there would be orthodox worshippers of Jehovah whose permanent homes were a long, long way from Jerusalem. All these, by obedience to the Law of the One Sanctuary, were debarred from participation in any sacrifices whatever. By the time we reach the Christian era, there were Jews in every part of the Mediterranean World—all these kept Josiah's Law and therefore saw no Jewish sacrifices except when they were able to pay visits to Jerusalem and take part in the temple ceremonies. Hence arose the need for a different kind of worship—one *without* sacrifices.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>To prevent misunderstanding, it may be well to point out here that there is a difference between "worship without sacrifices" and "religion

The meeting-place displaced the temple; it is from 621 B.C. that we must reckon the birth and growth of the synagogue, and for this reason we must claim Josiah's Reform as one of the really important events of pre-Christian history.

It was in the synagogue, rather than in the temple, that the prophetic traditions and the prophetic books were preserved. It was in the synagogue, in spite of the opposition of the temple, that prophecy prolonged its life in the Apocalyptic Writings, and it was the synagogue and not the temple which became the cradle of Christianity.

The first five Books of the Bible<sup>1</sup> constituted The Law. It was promulgated in or soon after the year 444 B.C., and was based on the Priestly Code. Although the Pentateuch, as it is called, was (quite wrongly) ascribed to Moses, very little of it—apart from the sermons in Deuteronomy—reflected the teaching of the great prophets.

The Priestly Party, headed in New Testament times by the powerful Sadducees, accepted only the Law as binding upon Jews, although the other two divisions of the Old Testament—the Prophets and the Writings—had been long in existence. "The Prophets" were divided into two parts, called respectively the former and the latter. The former included all those books from Joshua to 2 Kings which contain so much valuable historical matter, and it was in the pages of the latter prophets that the teaching of such great men as Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah and Jeremiah was preserved.

The remaining part of our Old Testament was grouped together under the heading of "The Writings." At this time, the orthodox Jew's belief with regard to his Scriptures might be put thus: the Law (Torah=the first five books) stood in a place by itself; its text was supposed to be literally inspired

---

without sacrifice." By "sacrifices" we mean the ritualistic slaughter of animals for human food. The meaning of the word has changed vastly. Except in the case of the "whole burnt offering" nothing of value was *given up* by the sacrificer. All was eaten either by priest or owner.

<sup>1</sup>First five as printed in our Bibles and as they appear in the Hebrew Scriptures. They were the first to be admitted to the Hebrew Canon—not the first to be *written*.

but, on the other hand, no limit was set to freedom of interpretation.<sup>1</sup> The prophetic books were not regarded as quite so sacrosanct yet, long before the opening of the Christian era, it was supposed that the age of the Prophets had come to an end and that God had spoken His last word by their means. When, therefore, from about 200 B.C. onwards, men felt that they had a message to deliver from God to His people, they were obliged to take assumed names and to publish their works not merely anonymously but pseudonymously. The name of some ancient worthy or prophet was used to father a later writer's views. Thus the author of Daniel was a writer of the second century. There was, in his case, an additional incentive to the use of a disguise, for he wished to launch an attack on the foreign power which at that time held Palestine in thrall. Under the name of Nebuchadnezzar, his readers would see Antiochus Epiphanes. The disguise was thin but was safer than the naked truth. It may be that, in the first instance, it was chiefly for this political reason that assumed names were used by the authors of religious and political works in the second century B.C., but there is no doubt that such books as the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Books of Enoch were so published because the Canon of the Prophetic Writings was already made up, and this was, therefore, the only, or, at all events, the easiest way to secure attention. Political considerations may have suggested a plan which became universal for purely ecclesiastical reasons.

There were scores of these apocalyptic books published in the last two centuries B.C. and first A.D. Daniel in the Old Testament and *the* Apocalypse (Revelation) in the New are two of them. They are called "apocalyptic" because they purport to "reveal" coming events, especially those concerned with an expected catastrophic change in the natural order of events. They deal, in other words, with what is called "eschatology," the science of the last things.

The apocalyptists were the natural and spiritual successors of the prophets, and their writings are of the greatest importance

---

<sup>1</sup> On Rabbinic Methods see pp. 23, 207, 209.

for a correct appreciation of the New Testament story. Both in form and in content, these writings are so peculiar that a careless or uninformed reader might be inclined to set them aside as being too bizarre or even childish to merit serious study. No bigger mistake could be made, for the apocalyptists not only played a very important part—the most important part—in the religious development of their age, but they have made a definite contribution of a more permanent nature. They are needed to account not only for the birth of Christianity but also for its content. In short, the apocalyptists have a message for our own time as well as for their contemporaries.<sup>1</sup>

To understand the strange form thus taken by the prophecies of the second and first centuries B.C.—those prophecies known as the Apocalyptic Writings—we must hark back to what was said in the last chapter about the peculiar political position of the Hebrews living in Palestine.

They occupied a bridge between Mesopotamia to the north-east and Egypt to the south-west, and they were shut off from the rest of the world by the desert on one side and the sea on the other. Themselves too feeble to attempt the conquest of other peoples, they were repeatedly subjugated by one or other of their more powerful neighbours on either side.

To people so situated history could never give the appearance, or illusion, of progress from good to better, but must have seemed like retrogression from bad to worse. They had been persecuted in turn by Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, Egypt (again) and Syria, and yet they thought, without unjustifiable pride, that they were in every instance superior, at least as regards religion, to their conquerors. And God was just—how then could the terrible misfortunes of his people be explained?

*Limited* misfortunes could be explained as discipline. God was obliged to punish his people for their backslidings and the heathen conquerors were his scourge. Quite a long way back, we can trace belief in a Day—a Day of the Lord—and the great prophet Amos had sternly told the worshippers at Bethel that

---

<sup>1</sup>Dr. R. H. Charles's book, *Between the Old and the New Testaments* (Home University Library), should be read and studied by all.

it was to be a Day of reckoning for Israel—a Day of mourning and defeat, not of rejoicing and victory. *But*—so these second century writers argued—*that* Day was now past and done with. Israel bore her punishment in the times of the Babylonian exile. It seemed inconceivable that God should allow the wicked to prosper for ever.

It must be remembered, too, that the vision of all the writers of the Old Testament Books, with the possible exception of a few second century additions, was limited to this life here on earth. Not until Maccabean times did belief in an after life emerge. It was the problem of martyrdom presented by the faithful Israelites who chose death rather than apostacy, in the times of persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes, that forced open the eyes of second century prophets and enabled them to see beyond the grave. They reasoned that God could not permit these saints, who had given their lives for the religion of Israel, to lose their reward. When the glorious “Day” arrived, there would be a resurrection. It was thus that belief in an after life, absent from the pages of the Old Testament, came to be assumed as axiomatic by all the writers in the New. To this religious development the priests were hostile, or, at best, indifferent—the Sadducees did not believe in the resurrection.

The authors of these Apocalyptic Books, being perplexed by and dissatisfied with the trend of history, as they knew it, deal largely with *eschatology*—the science of the last things. They looked for the end of the age and the beginning of a new era, and their hope was in a new Heaven and a new Earth; so far all these writers are agreed, but there was a divergence of opinion among them as to the nature of the new Kingdom and as to the manner in which the reign of God upon Earth was to be inaugurated.

In some of these Apocalypses, God himself is to rend the heavens and descend to reign in justice and majesty over the whole earth. In some, an intervening age between this one and the final end is postulated, and in some of these the Judgment is to take place at the beginning and in others at the termination of such an intermediate period. In many, the New Age is to be introduced by a Messiah and these perhaps claim our greatest



interest. The word "Messiah," which is translated by the Greek word "Christ," means "Anointed One," and the title could be, and was, applied to any man who was consecrated to a particular mission. Kings, prophets and priests might be thus anointed for any special purpose and might appropriately have claimed the title of "Messiah," but it is true that the word came to imply some special function with regard to the foundation of the expected Kingdom.

Although, however, the Messianic hope grew up in the apocalyptic atmosphere during the centuries immediately preceding the birth of Jesus of Nazareth, there was no approach to unanimity among the apocalyptists with regard either to the nature or to the functions of the expected Messiah. In most apocalypses, there is no Messiah, and a survey of those in which he figures reveals almost as many different conceptions as there are writers. It would be possible to find, in these books, every gradation between a mere military champion on the one hand and God himself on the other.

There was also considerable divergence of opinion as to the nature of the part to be played by the Messiah. Were his functions merely of a temporary nature and connected only with the establishment of the New Age, or was there a permanent office to be taken by him in the Kingdom? Was the Messiah to be the Judge, or would all matters of judgment be left to God Himself? What was to be regarded as the relation between God and the Messiah? It will thus be seen that to speak of Jesus as "the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy" or as "the Jewish Messiah," is likely, without further definition of the terms, to produce confusion of thought. Moreover, the views of Jesus himself on this important point were original and do not agree with those of any of these apocalyptic writers.

On the nature and functions of the Messiah a variety of opinions was both allowed and expressed. One thing, however, tended more and more to set a limit to legitimate speculation or, at least, to control its direction. Apocalypticism was linked up with Prophecy. This was natural enough, for the apocalyptists were the followers and successors of the prophets, and it was only the absurdity of fixing the Canon that prevented full acknow-

ledgment and appreciation of the relationship between the two.

But there is a curiosity to be noticed here; although, by the very existence of their writings, these apocalyptic authors had thrown over the Canon, they could not quite regain their intellectual freedom. Reverence for their predecessors, the prophets, led to a form of bibliolatry which has persisted even to our own day. The result was that the glorious freshness of prophecy was debased into the mechanical rigidity of verbal prediction. There was a strong tendency among the writers of this age not merely to take the words of the prophets too literally but to interpret them as applying to their own times and their own circumstances. Thus, for example, words referring to the return from the Babylonian exile or to the hope of the restoration of the House of David to the throne of Zion were taken as predictions of the Apocalyptic Age and of the advent of the Messiah.

Just as the Rabbis, accepting the *literal* inspiration of the Law, claimed complete freedom of interpretation, so also these apocalyptic writers and their numerous followers in the second and first centuries B.C. allowed themselves an equal latitude. The Scriptures were searched, but extraordinary ingenuity was displayed to account for faulty conclusions as to times and seasons. Some of this makes sorry reading and, although not without its counterpart in our own times, is of no real value except to the antiquarian. The importance of these writings must be sought along other lines. They formed the background to Palestinian religious life, when Jesus himself came among us, and the chief interest for us must lie in the use he was able to make of them. This will be dealt with more fully in a later chapter, but, for the moment, it is necessary to realise that the apocalyptic movement proceeded on two planes—political and ethical.

The political hope centred round the establishment of an independent Kingdom. It will be remembered that this thought was uppermost in the minds of some of the disciples even at the very end. "Dost thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" (Acts I. 6). And lest we should be inclined to dismiss the political side as unimportant, let us take note that the reply of Jesus is not a complete denial but a gentle rebuke for our want of faith. God alone can tell the times and seasons, but man must

work to bring his Kingdom near. It will come, but first His Good News must be spread over all the world.

Still, with the narrow interpretation given to the Kingdom of Israel, the political side of the apocalyptic movement had not merely its limitations but its very real dangers. In the second century B.C. the hope of independence was actually realised for a time, and there were those who believed that they had seen the dawn of the New Era and that John Hyrcanus<sup>1</sup> was himself the Messiah. With the awful misdeeds of the later members of the Hasmonæan House<sup>2</sup> came a terrible disillusionment and we find, by the time we reach the Christian era, that, on the political side, the hope is nothing more than that of deliverance from the yoke of the Romans.

If this were all, once more we should have to put these Apocalyptic Writings aside as being but the vapourings of a futile nationalism—a useless though pathetic patriotism. But this is not all—there is an ethical side and, in many of these books, real religious fervour burns with a flame as illuminating as the finest passages in the Old Testament. There is, in some of them,<sup>3</sup> a conception of righteousness that fitly comes between the two Testaments and sometimes rises to heights worthy of the Gospels themselves. With such inspired writers as these, history and politics recede into the background, and we have visions of the souls of the righteous living for ever in the service of their God and in the light of his countenance. Success may attend them in this world; it may not; it does not matter, for they are safe with God.

“We are not careful to answer thee in this matter,” wrote one of them. “If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning, fiery furnace and he will deliver us out of thine hand, O King. *But if not*, be it known unto thee, O King, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the image which thou hast set up.”

Though they never rose to the height of “My Kingdom is not

<sup>1</sup> c. 140 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Maccabee Dynasty.

<sup>3</sup> Among the best may be mentioned *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

of this world," they yet prepared the way to it and their illusion that the end of all things was at hand compelled a revaluation which time has shown to be something far more permanent than any mere *interims-ethik*.<sup>1</sup> Or, rather, we are coming to see that this life is, after all, but a "meanwhile" and the apocalyptic atmosphere is the right one for us to breathe. No soldier, sailor or nurse who went under fire in the War is a stranger to apocalyptic. To set foot in France during that period was to be aware of a change in the very air—all were leading apocalyptic lives. All that was best in that dreadful time, all the romance and heroism, suffering, hardship, comradeship—all this was apocalyptic.

Nor is the great illusion so far out of touch with reality as to be deserving of ridicule—it is an integral part of our faith in God that some day, somewhere, somehow, things will come right and God's reign begin, though the Kingdom be neither in nor of this world.

---

<sup>1</sup> A system of conduct devised on the assumption that the present state of society will not last long. It is especially applied to those who lived with the expectation of an imminent Second Advent of Jesus.

## CHAPTER III

### THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

THE first three Gospels, those ascribed in our Bibles to Matthew, Mark and Luke, resemble each other in several respects; they deal with many of the same incidents in the ministry of Jesus, and record many of the same sayings and, although obviously differing in some ways, take roughly the same view of the mission and the personality of Christ. For this reason, they are called synoptic (eye to eye), but the necessity for so grouping them together would not have arisen but for the marked contrast they show to the Fourth Gospel, which stands quite apart from them. It is not our present object to dwell on the differences between the first three Gospels on the one hand and the fourth Gospel on the other; suffice it to say that while it is comparatively easy to construct a harmony of Matthew, Mark and Luke, formidable difficulties present themselves whenever we try to add the testimony of John to those of the other three.

In this chapter we shall investigate what has long been known as "the synoptic problem," but, on some points, scholars have now reached such a consensus of opinion that it would hardly be too much to claim that much of the "problem" has been solved.

We are told in the preface to St. Luke's Gospel that there were, in his time, many "narratives," and an examination of our first three Gospels—those of Matthew, Mark and Luke—abundantly confirms Luke's statement, for it is clear that these authors make use of *earlier* works as their source-books. The problem before us is to reconstruct these earlier works out of the three Gospels as we now have them, and thus to determine the relations with each other of Matthew, Mark and Luke.

As to some of the main conclusions, scholars are now practically unanimous.

Mark was the first of the three to be written, and it is found that all, save some fifty verses, of Mark is reproduced *either* by Matthew *or* by Luke. More than half of Mark occurs *both* in Matthew *and* in Luke. Moreover, the chronological order of Mark is reproduced by Matthew and, though to a less extent, by Luke. If the verbal resemblances were confined to *sayings* there would be no reason to suspect dependence, for two reporters might both preserve exactly the same words of a speech, but when *incidents* are described in the same words and the resemblance continues through a whole paragraph and is observable, with intervals, throughout a whole book, the inference is irresistible either that the two or more authors are making use of the same source-book or that one is reproducing from another.

Thus, *either* all three, Matthew, Mark and Luke, are copying from a common source *or* two of them are copying from the third. In the case before us, scholars are now in no doubt. Mark was written first and Matthew and Luke both used his work as one of their source-books.

But we can go considerably further; apart altogether from passages which Matthew and Luke took from Mark, there are others in our first and third Gospels which bear such a strong verbal similarity to one another that they must have been drawn from the same written source. Unlike Mark, this source has been lost and can only be reconstructed by conjecture, but of its existence no reader will be able to entertain much doubt if he compares the passages in the two Gospels, Matthew and Luke, which resemble each other and yet do not occur in Mark.

Now many of these passages—for example, large parts of the Sermon on the Mount—consist of sayings of Jesus and, if *all* of them were of this nature, there would be no need to postulate a written source for them. Sayings can be preserved accurately by two or more listeners and so find their way in precisely the same form into two or more books. In other words, the common source of such passages may be the speaker himself. But the verbal similarities between Matthew and Luke, in passages which have not been derived from Mark, go beyond the mere report of sayings and include considerable narrative sections as well.

Clear instances are provided by the story of the Centurion's Servant and the story of the Embassy from the Baptist. Then there is the account of the Temptation which occurs in Matthew and in Luke in such remarkably similar words that it is difficult to account for them by mere verbal tradition. The evidence for a written source in these passages is cumulative, and has now been accepted by all scholars. The existence of this source-book is so well established that it has been given a special letter of identification and is always known as Q from the word *Quelle* (German for "source"). Q is obviously a source of the very greatest importance and reasons will be given in a later chapter for believing that, so far from being a mere collection of sayings, it is a treatise written on a definite plan to achieve a definite purpose.

We reach, then, this position : Matthew and Luke both made use of Mark and of Q. Mark has survived and is printed in our Bibles in much the same form as that in which it lay when Matthew and Luke had it before them.

Q is now lost and can only be reconstructed by a careful comparison of those parts of Matthew and Luke which do not appear in Mark, and even this will not be enough, for just as Matthew uses verses in Mark ignored by Luke and *vice versa*, so, possibly, there are verses from Q in Matthew and not in Luke and in Luke but not in Matthew. Though it is both interesting and important, this point need not detain us here. It will be sufficient at present to realise that Q existed. It must originally have been something approaching the dimensions of a complete Gospel—not much, if any, shorter than Mark itself. Since there are no evidences of verbal similarity between Matthew's story of Passion Week and that of Luke, apart from passages clearly derived from Mark, it seems reasonable to assume that Q contained no account of the Passion. Q, however, certainly overlapped Mark at the beginning, and this is a point to be remembered. Whether Mark was acquainted with Q or not is a matter of speculation among scholars to-day, with a slight preponderance of the view that he *was*.

But Mark and Q together do not exhaust either Matthew or Luke, for, when those parts of them derived from Mark and Q

have been removed, a large part remains over in each Gospel. Generally speaking, both in Matthew and in Luke the remainder is peculiar to that Gospel, but this is not always so. Both, for example, contain accounts of the Birth and of the Resurrection appearances, but the accounts are so different that it is obvious that they cannot possibly have been drawn from the same source. In other words, Matthew and Luke each had access to some special source of information, whether written or oral, not known to or not used by the other.

Throughout this book we shall denote by the letters "M" and "L" those parts of Matthew and Luke respectively which are not in Mark and cannot be shown to have stood in Q. As this is a somewhat unusual use of the letters "M" and "L" (especially "M"), it is necessary to explain at some length.

MATTHEW.—No scholar to-day believes that St. Matthew the Apostle was the author of our Gospel as we have it. Papias, who was Bishop of Hierapolis and wrote in the first half of the second century, tells us that "Matthew composed the logia in the Hebrew tongue" and that "each man interpreted them according to his capacity." Unfortunately the works of Papias have been lost; this fragment is preserved by Eusebius, a writer of the fourth century, and it constitutes the earliest known reference to Matthew as an author. What is meant by "*logia*" is disputed to this day. Some people have supposed that Papias intended us to believe that Matthew wrote Q, but "*logia*" does not mean "sayings," and Q does not consist entirely of "sayings." "*Logia*" generally means "oracles," and another suggestion was that Matthew composed a collection of "proof-texts" from the Old Testament to show that Jesus was the Jewish Messiah and that Papias was referring to it. At first sight this also seems to be a promising solution; the book contains many references, which do not occur in the other Gospels, to Old Testament texts, but there are grave difficulties to be faced when this line is followed up. Professor B. W. Bacon's recent "Studies in Matthew" puts forth a powerful plea for the return to the universal belief of former generations of scholars that the *λόγια* of Papias is nothing more nor less than the Gospel of Matthew, as we have it. *λόγια*



being a description of the book and not its title. The matter being further discussed in Chapter VIII.

If we piece together all those passages—verses and parts of verses—which occur in our Gospel of Matthew and nowhere else, we find that we seem to have a somewhat heterogeneous collection. First of all, there are some passages which, while not in Luke, may possibly come from Q. Obviously no one can prove that there are any such, but since passages are found in Mark which Luke omitted and Matthew preserved, it is at least possible that the same may be true of Q. We have little to guide us but feeling. This point is not, however, of great importance except in one instance,<sup>1</sup> and no one supposes that *much* of Matthew stood in Q unless it is also in Luke.

Leaving these passages aside, we propose to denote by the letter M everything that occurs in Matthew and not in any other Gospel. It will be found that M, so defined, can be summed up under seven headings:

(1) The Birth stories of Matthew I & II. These are entirely peculiar to the Gospel of Matthew. The only other references to the birth of Jesus occur in Luke and they are totally different from these—most people would go further and say that the two accounts are irreconcilable. Certainly the differences are so great that it is impossible for anyone to believe that either author was acquainted with the work of the other. They agree only in asserting the birth from a virgin.<sup>2</sup>

The form of the genealogy, the dream of St. Joseph, the visit of the Magi, the massacre of the innocents and the flight into Egypt are all peculiar to Matthew.

(2) Many details of the Passion and Resurrection. The death of Judas (different from the account given in Acts, where it hardly reads like a suicide), the dream of Pilate's wife, Pilate's hand-washing, the earthquake and resurrection of the saints,

---

<sup>1</sup> "Come unto me all ye that labour . . ." must have come from Q unless the preceding passage is to be left without its proper theological complement. See Chapter VII, where this very important matter is discussed and reasons given for Luke's omission of the words.

<sup>2</sup> It has even been maintained that the virgin birth was not to be found in the original third Gospel.

the guard at the tomb, the descent of the angel who rolled away the stone (with a second earthquake), the appearances in Galilee.

(3) A collection of parables containing, among others, the Wheat and Tares, the Hidden Treasure, the Pearl of Great Price, and the Drag-net. Two of them, the Marriage Feast, and the Talents, resemble similar ones in Luke, but there are such differences that they can only with the greatest difficulty be referred to the same source. Perhaps there were various collections of the parables of Jesus, and Matthew had one differing from but overlapping that of Luke, but this is an obscure matter.

(4) A little series of stories in which Peter is prominent—the Walking on the Sea, the Tribute Money in the Fish's Mouth, "on this rock I will build my church. . . ."

(5) Passages of decidedly Judaistic tendency sometimes inconsistent with the teaching of the other evangelists, and even at variance with other parts of Matthew's own work. As an outstanding example take XXIII. 1, 2. "The scribes and the Pharisees sit on Moses' seat . . ." Half-contemptuous references to the Gentiles occur, e.g. VI. 7, "use not vain repetitions as the Gentiles do."

In this group of peculiar passages may be placed the dozen or so references to fulfilment of Old Testament prophecies with oft-repeated in order "that it might be fulfilled."<sup>1</sup>

(6) Passages of a highly ecclesiastical character—enhancing the power of the church and clearly referring to a time long after the death of Jesus, though put into his mouth—the power to bind and loose (XVI. 19 and XVIII. 18) and the command to baptize *in the name of the Trinity* (XXVIII. 19).

(7) Lastly, some editorial additions which sometimes seriously affect what seems to have been the original sense of the author's source-book. For example, the words "for the remission of sins" occur in M at the institution of the Lord's Supper, whereas in Mark they appear in connection with the Baptist's preaching

---

<sup>1</sup> So the Greek *hōta* is usually translated, but see below in Chapter VIII.

of repentance; and in Q, the ending of the parable of the Lost Sheep is altered.<sup>1</sup>

It must not be supposed that what we are calling "M" ever formed an independent self-contained written document. There are scholars who think that *some* of it was preserved in a written form and was so used by the final editor, but it is in the last degree unlikely that the *whole* of this M was ever written down until it took up its present position in our Gospel of St. Matthew. The compiler was making use *both* of written *and* of oral sources of information.

A word is necessary to explain the manner in which Matthew uses his material. He follows Mark's order of events almost throughout, and it would hardly be too much to say that when Mark's narrative ends abruptly at Mark XVI. 8,<sup>2</sup> Matthew gives the impression of a writer whose chief source has failed him. But he frequently smooths over the difficulties presented by Mark's peculiar Greek and he almost invariably abbreviates Mark's narratives. By so doing, he loses much of the vividness of the earlier writer, but gains in dignity, and he also makes room for extensive additions from his other sources of information. He collects sayings together in great blocks, thereby sacrificing historical accuracy of a kind, indeed, on which hardly anyone set value in those days, and, as compensation, greatly increasing the utility of his book for the purpose of teaching, which was the purpose for which it was intended. The Sermon on the Mount is the most obvious and important, as well as the longest of these agglomerations. No one was intended to suppose that all those mighty words were actually *spoken* in the course of one sermon, but it was, and still is, extremely convenient to have them in this collected form.

We have emphasised the point that Mark and Q overlap. It is important as showing that we have in them two independent witnesses, and the same is true of M and of L. All four overlap one another. Instead of *two*—Mark and Q—we actually possess *four*—M, Mk, Q, L—*independent, overlapping versions.*

---

<sup>1</sup> For fuller details of all these seven peculiarities see the text of M in Chapter V. Also pp. 204 f.

<sup>2</sup> Verses 9–20 printed in our Bibles are not found in the best MSS.

It is most interesting to notice the way in which Matthew uses his sources when they overlap. He has an ingenious method of conflation, joining together his two sources in such a way that he preserves the most striking features and even the most prominent words of both. It is a very ingenious method, but it makes the task of disintegration peculiarly difficult in the case of the First Gospel.

LUKE.—Most—though not all—scholars accept the tradition which ascribes the writing of our third Gospel to Luke, the Physician, the companion of St. Paul, and there is internal evidence that the “Acts of the Apostles” comes from the same pen. In his Gospel, Luke makes use of Mark and Q, but he, too, has a third source of information which it will be convenient to call “L.” From this source Luke has drawn the whole of the first two chapters,<sup>1</sup> which deal with the Birth stories in a manner totally different from that of Matthew I. and II.; much, also, of the Passion and Resurrection in the closing chapters comes from L. Many of the most striking parables, such as the Good Samaritan, the Prodigal Son, the Rich Man and Lazarus, the Pharisee and the Publican, and the Unjust Steward occur only in Luke and, therefore, must be assigned to L.

It is true that some or even all of these parables may have stood in Q, but, since they are not in Matthew, this can never be proved. In this connection it may be noted that, when parables *do* occur in both Matthew and Luke, they sometimes differ widely in form or even in the lesson taught by the same parable. An example of the former is the parable of the Talents in Matthew and the Pounds in Luke; and of the latter the parable of the Lost Sheep, which in Luke tells us of the joy in Heaven as the chief and almost sole *motif* of the piece, while in Matthew, our thoughts are directed to the desire of God that *all* men should be saved. In this instance, it seems likely that Luke has preserved the Q version.

Sometimes the same materials were put to different uses by

---

<sup>1</sup> It has been pointed out that Luke begins very easily at Chapter III. It is therefore possible that the Birth stories come from a totally different source. Nevertheless, they are L according to our use of that letter.

Matthew and Luke, each of whom followed a plan of his own.

MARK.—The evidence that Mark was the first of our Gospels to be written and published is overwhelming and is accepted nowadays by investigators in all schools of thought. The date of its first appearance may be tentatively put as somewhere about 65 A.D. It was adopted by the Church at Rome, and it is to this circumstance that we probably owe its preservation.

We have seen that either Mark itself or an early recension of it was used by both Matthew and Luke, and the usual fate of a book so used was total subsequent oblivion as in the case of Q. When the bulk of a book like Mark had been copied into other fuller accounts of the same series of events, there was a natural tendency for the original to remain uncopied and eventually to cease from circulation. In the respective *Churches* where Matthew or Luke was in use, there would be no room for Mark, which would almost certainly have disappeared but for the Church at Rome.

It certainly looks as though Mark's Gospel was intended to be used by Gentile readers, for the author is at pains to explain Jewish terms, and he makes no references to Jewish law such as would be natural if his aim had been to write a book for the Jews. Apart from the opening verses, moreover, he makes no mention of Old Testament prophecy.

The Church of Rome was intimately connected with St. Peter and, although the whole book cannot possibly be regarded as the work of an eyewitness, or as directly derived from an eyewitness, there is most certainly evidence of a Petrine origin for enough of Mark's Gospel to justify or at least to explain the reference made to it by Papias. Papias tells us that Mark was Peter's "interpreter," whatever that may have meant, and that he wrote down what he could remember of Peter's discourses, and there is another tradition which has it that Peter's approval was sought for the publication of the book, but that though he did not forbid it, he thought it unnecessary. Probably he regarded the return of Jesus as being so soon to take place that there was no call for the written word.

Irenæus, the Bishop of Lyons (about 180 A.D.), states that

Mark was written in Rome *after* the death of Peter (64 A.D.), but this statement may only refer to its publication. It may have been written some time before, and have been, at first, in private circulation. Mark's mother possessed a large house in Jerusalem, and it is probable that this house was the scene of the Last Supper and the headquarters<sup>1</sup> of the disciples from the days of the Resurrection appearances until the final scattering which followed the murder of St. Stephen. Unless the verses 51 and 52 of Mark XIV.—"*And a certain young man followed him, having a linen cloth cast about him, over his naked body; and they lay hold on him: but he left the linen cloth, and fled naked*"—refer to the author himself, they have no meaning known to us now, and if they do, we may conclude that he was a boy at the time of the Crucifixion and that, out of curiosity, he followed his mother's guests into the garden on that terrible night and narrowly escaped arrest.

This is all in keeping with what Papias tells that "Mark neither followed the Lord nor heard him teach," but was a close companion of St. Peter and, after the Apostle's death, set down what he could remember of his sermons.

When Paul and Barnabas set out on the first missionary journey, Mark, who was nephew to Barnabas, accompanied them, but he left them when they reached the coast of Asia Minor, and returned to Antioch by himself. After this, Paul would not take him on the next journey; so, while Paul went with Silas, Mark set forth again with his uncle Barnabas, but we know nothing more of his missionary work. We do know, however, that he was completely reconciled to Paul in after days.

How he became attached to Peter is not known, but the attachment must have been deep, for Peter refers to him as a "son," and there is no doubt that the Gospel does, in part, represent teaching based on the recollection of that great Apostle. Mark is, therefore, partly the work of an eyewitness; nevertheless, there are unmistakable signs<sup>2</sup> that the author sometimes

---

<sup>1</sup> Acts XII. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Examples are (a) the duplication of the story of the feeding of the five thousand by that of the feeding of the four thousand, and (b) the thirteenth chapter, which reads like a separate apocalyptic tract put into the mouth of Jesus.

made use of written sources and it is possible that he was acquainted with Q.

A word must be said about Mark's Greek, because one of its chief peculiarities is entirely hidden in our translation. His writing has the merit of extraordinary vividness, but the effect, which is unmistakable and has even come through in the translation, is gained partly by the use of colloquialisms which a more scholarly Greek would most certainly have avoided. From this we are not to conclude that Mark was an illiterate or uneducated man. No Jew was uneducated: the Jewish system of education was one of the best and one of the most complete of ancient times. Even a Jew born of the poorer classes was well versed in the great national literature embodied in the Old Testament, and most Jewish boys were taught a good deal more than that. Mark, moreover, born of well-to-do parents, was obviously, as his book proves, a man of intelligence and had the advantage of living in the Capital. But Greek was not his mother-tongue and to Classical, or even to the best Hellenistic Greek, he was evidently a complete stranger.

Most subjects of the Roman Empire at that time, at least among those living in the eastern half of it, knew enough Greek for commercial purposes. Mark's is the Greek of the marketplace, and he makes excellent use of it, but it hardly suited the style and purpose of either Matthew or Luke, *both* of whom tone down its asperities and remove its colloquialisms. In making these linguistic improvements, these later authors sacrificed a good deal of the vividness and freshness of the original Mark. Furthermore, along with colloquialisms, Matthew and Luke removed almost everything from Mark that could be taken as in any sense derogatory to the dignity of the twelve Apostles. In Mark the twelve are very ordinary human beings, who perpetually misunderstand their Master and are quite clearly living on a lower plane than he; but by the time we reach Luke and Matthew, although they have not yet become saints, they show distinct signs of their coming glory. The frankness of Peter with regard to his early failures is one of the most charming features of his character, and we derive our knowledge of these defects almost entirely from Mark—based on Peter's own stories.

St. Luke tells us in his preface that many undertook "to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us." There must originally, therefore, have been many "Gospels," and this is perhaps less to be wondered at than that so few of them have survived. However far below the standard of our four they may have been, they would all have possessed great value for us, and it is worth while to try to understand just why they were allowed to go out of circulation. The truth is that, for the purposes of winning converts to the new religion and of the further training of those who were already converted, one book is much better than many. Especially is this so if, as is almost bound to happen, the various books overlap and, when they do so, give variant accounts of the same events or of the same discourses. A book tends to lose some of its authority if there are rivals in the field.

We need, therefore, rather to explain the survival of four gospels than the disappearance of the "many" mentioned by St. Luke, and we have also to account for the combination of several works into one, for we have seen that both Matthew and Luke are derived from three sources.<sup>1</sup>

Now this combination of sources is not a new thing to the Biblical student. He has met with it in the Old Testament. The first four Books of the Bible are made up of *three* independent, overlapping accounts of the same period of history—and we know the reason. There were separate *Churches*—in Northern and Southern Palestine and in Babylon—communities of Hebrews who cherished the same beliefs and possessed the same traditions. The Northern and Southern documents were joined together into one when, for a time, there was a union of the two Churches and the Babylonian document was added when the exiles returned to Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, it seems most likely that each Gospel represented

---

<sup>1</sup> The reader needs, perhaps, to be reminded that what we have been calling M and L were not complete books, though parts of them may have existed in book form.

<sup>2</sup> This must not be taken as a full account of what occurred; it is sufficient for our immediate purpose. See the author's "Handbook to the Old Testament." See also (above), p. 11.



the traditions treasured by a local Church, and this would account for the existence of many Gospels, but would not explain why only four have survived. A reasonable assumption is that the greater Metropolitan Churches issued books which were intended to include and to *supersede* the smaller books. It has been suggested that M represents the Jerusalem tradition, Q Antioch, L Cæsarea, and Mk Rome. The last of these suppositions is highly probable, but the others are conjectural.

The full Gospel of Matthew containing M, Mk and Q was probably published in Northern Syria. St. Luke probably gathered his material together during his two years' stay at Cæsarea when St. Paul was imprisoned there. There are signs, as Prof. Streeter has pointed out, of his having joined together L and Q before he had seen Mark. The final book, our Luke, may have been first published for the benefit of the Christian Churches in Achaia (the Roman Province of Greece). The fourth Evangelist, John, wrote and published at Ephesus.

If much of this is doubtful, one thing is very likely—that Matthew and Luke were originally intended to be the *only* books used by certain Churches, and they were expected to *take the place* of the shorter works which they incorporated. It is at least possible that the Ephesian Church cherished a similar hope for their great book—the Fourth Gospel—but, of course, it does not follow that the authors of the books themselves had any such idea in view, though it seems likely that the compiler of Matthew intended his book to be the only one of its kind in use. Each of our four owes its preservation, at least in part, to adoption by an important Church.

*Dates.*—It is not possible to fix the dates of composition of these three books, Matthew, Mark and Luke, with any certainty. Scholars are not entirely agreed; evidence is scanty and not always consistent, and even tradition is silent until we reach the middle of the second century. The date of a book may be a matter of first-rate importance; with these three, for reasons which will shortly be set forth, it is only secondary. Many students would, however, agree to an approximate date of 65 A.D. for Mark; the other two must have come some time after, for their authors

both make use of Mark, but how *far* after is largely a matter of doubt. The crucial date is 70 A.D., the year in which Jerusalem fell and the Temple was destroyed. Were Matthew and Luke writing after or before this event? Was the Temple still standing or was it destroyed when their books were published? These are questions to which we shall probably never know the answers, and critics have varied in their opinions from time to time. Many scholars to-day put Luke and Matthew somewhere about 90 A.D., though dates 65-70 A.D. still have adherents among those qualified to judge.

All these questions of date, however, fall into the background when once it is realised that we are able to get behind our Gospels to the sources from which they were drawn. Instead of Mark of 65 A.D., and of Matthew and Luke perhaps nearly a generation later, we have four witnesses, M, Mk, Q and L, who take us considerably further back. Q may be placed very early—perhaps about 40 A.D. But we must not stop here—there is a further step to be taken and it is the most important of all. A somewhat lengthy explanation is needed.

The “Lower Criticism”—the term is hardly ever used now—had for its object the determination of the exact words originally written by the authors of the various books of the Bible. It may come as a surprise to some people to be told that there can, generally speaking, be doubt on such a point as this; yet a glance at almost any edition of the New Testament in Greek will reveal the difficulty. In the Gospels alone, there are some two thousand variant readings. Most of them, it is true, make very little difference to the meaning, but this is not always so. In Matthew. V. 22, we are told that anger is dangerous, but the sting is removed from the passage by the addition of the words “without a cause,” which occur in some manuscripts, and are inserted in the Authorised Version. One wonders who is ever angry with his brother “without a cause.” The revisers have, surely correctly, omitted the qualification. Anger, whatever the cause, is a dangerous weapon. This is one of the most glaring instances of disagreement among the manuscripts (called “ancient authorities” in the margins of the Bibles), and for the most part, so far as the Gospels are concerned, there is practical

unanimity as regards the verbal meaning.<sup>1</sup>

The "Lower Critic" has done his work and, unless further early manuscripts are discovered,<sup>2</sup> the original texts of the various books are as accurately known now as they are ever likely to be.

After the "Lower" came the "Higher" Critic.<sup>3</sup> Building on the work of the textual critic, it is the business of the Higher Critic to discover what may be called the inner meaning of the various books of the Bible. The quest is largely historical, and everything that can be discovered about the circumstances in which these writers produced their books is of assistance. The Higher Criticism involves a study of the intellectual, religious and political background of the writers. It concerns itself with problems of authorship, date and composition, but its object always is to elucidate the full meaning of the words which stand in the manuscripts. This is a very necessary work, and men of all peoples and tongues have now been engaged in it for many years, but there remains something over and above all this.

*Third stage of criticism.*—The work of both Lower and Higher Critics is undertaken with the one object behind it, that of discovering the Mind of Christ. The Higher Criticism is necessary, but it is not enough. We must know, as far as lies in our power to know, what kind of men were those authors whose books we prize; we must know all it is possible for us to find out of their intellectual background, with what ideas they were likely to have grown up and by what influences they were surrounded; what they thought of Jesus Christ and how their lives were affected by contact with his, but our ultimate aim is Jesus himself and not the recorders of his words and acts. The authors themselves would not have it otherwise, and we pay them but a poor compliment if we mistake their own admittedly imperfect reflections for the glorious sun itself.

---

<sup>1</sup> The same cannot be said of all the books in the Bible. Job and Hosea in the Old Testament are conspicuous examples of books which have suffered lamentably at the hands of subsequent editors.

<sup>2</sup> Always a possibility, as the Chester Beatty find proves.

<sup>3</sup> The word "lower" is of course not used in any disparaging sense. "Earlier" and "later" would have been suitable adjectives instead of "lower" and "higher."

Thus, Lower Criticism tells us what words were actually written by the authors; Higher Criticism, what these words meant at the time they were written, and by the use of both, the ultimate aim may be reached.

With these thoughts in our minds, we should be able to estimate the work of the critic at its true value and to be thankful for it. This resolution of the Gospels into their component parts is no mere intellectual exercise, it provides us with a critical apparatus by the use of which we can reach back to Jesus himself. Without it, we are left groping in a maze of contradictions, not merely on small and unimportant details, but on some of the most fundamental tenets of Christian belief. He has the words of Eternal Life and we must hear them or we perish.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE TEXT OF Q

It is clearly of some importance to produce a version of Q which can be regarded as substantially correct. The version set forth in this Chapter was made independently and afterwards compared with the work of others. It was then found that, as regards wording, the result closely resembled the text published some years ago by Harnack in *The Sayings of Jesus* and the reader who is interested will find, in that book, detailed discussion of most of the sentences here included in Q. While it would be impossible, or exceedingly inconvenient, to go over all these details, an explanation of the general principles governing the reconstruction will naturally be demanded by scholars and may be of some interest to others.

There is practical unanimity among students of the Synoptic Problem as to the starting point: there was a Greek document, other than Mark, that was actually used by both Matthew and Luke in the composition of their Gospels. Since, however, neither Matthew nor Luke follows Mark slavishly but both alter his wording, we must not expect exact verbal similarity when we are dealing with Q. Speculation, therefore, enters into the problem from the very first. It is possible, nevertheless, to be morally certain of the presence of Q in the great majority of cases, and we are usually able to go a step further and determine which of the two variants (Matthew or Luke) is nearer to the original. For all practical purposes, as regards meaning and probably also as regards wording, a reasonable certainty can be obtained. In most of the sentences, there are slight variations in wording between Matthew and Luke, but in nearly all of them Luke gives *the better Greek*. Now no one would turn good Greek into Greek that was not so good, whereas we know from his treatment of Mark, apart from any other consideration, that Luke would

be very likely to substitute good Hellenistic Greek for the Aramaic Greek of his source. In Matthew these Aramaicisms remain; therefore, in the great majority of sentences, it is reasonable to assume that Matthew has preserved the original Q more faithfully than has Luke.

The changes made by Luke affect both the words and the phraseology. One example of each must suffice. The word *αμήν* (verily) is a favourite with Q. When, therefore, we find it in Matthew and either find no equivalent or find *'αληθῶς* (a Greek translation) in Luke, it is almost certain that Matthew is preserving Q's original text. Then in Q, Chapter 3, we find "say all manner of evil against you." Matthew here has *εἰπωσιν πᾶν πονηρὸν καθ' ὑμῶν*, which is hardly Greek at all. Luke puts *'εκβάλλωσιν τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν ὡς πονηρόν*, which is very good. Harnack enumerates twelve different ways in which Luke improves on the text of Matthew and in hardly a single instance is the meaning affected. Once, however, Luke makes a change which does alter the meaning. Q, Chapter 7 (Mt. VII. 11—Lk. XI. 13) reads "how much more shall your Father in heaven give good things . . ." Luke has "give Holy Spirit" (no article). Here Matthew, as usual, is to be preferred because "good things" is the logical conclusion to what has gone before and also because "Holy Spirit" is a favourite expression of Luke throughout his work.

When differences occur between Matthew and Luke and one version contains a favourite word or phrase of the author (e.g. "righteousness" with Matthew; "spirit" with Luke), the other version is to be preferred. The case for any version is greatly strengthened if good reasons, either of a linguistic or theological character, can be adduced for the alteration of that version into the other.

Sometimes a passage, which in itself is quite in harmony with the general teaching of Q, is in one Gospel sandwiched between two unmistakably Q sections. In such a case, it is probably safe to include the passage even though it lacks the support of the other Evangelist (e.g. Q, Chapter 10, Mt. XXIII, 23b, 24). Similarly, if some words occur at the beginning or end of a Q passage and seem naturally to fit into the context, they may

be included (e.g. Lk. X. 18-20, at the beginning, and Mt. XI. 28-30, at the end of Q, Chapter 11). With the exception of the last example given above, such additions to the text of Q (as given in the following pages) are few<sup>1</sup> and unimportant. Moreover, any reader, even without a knowledge of Greek, can check most of the processes used.

---

<sup>1</sup> About 30 verses out of some 250, and most of the additions merely develop thoughts already expressed.

*Important Note.*—From the references to Matthew and Luke in the two margins, it can be seen at a glance which passages lack the support of one or other of the Evangelists and therefore cannot with absolute certainty be claimed as Q. The order of the Q sections in Matthew is different from that in Luke. It is clear, therefore, that, in this respect, either Matthew or Luke has departed from the original. Since both Evangelists have plans of their own, into which Q material has been fitted, it is at least possible that *both* have made changes in Q's order. As is shown by the references, the order given in the following twelve Q chapters is neither Matthew's nor Luke's, and there can be no guarantee that it resembles that of the original.

In the texts given in this chapter and also in the next two chapters, quotations from the Old Testament are printed in capitals. The figures in the first of the right-hand margins refer to the notes.



## CHAPTER I

THE BEST UNDER THE OLD DISPENSATION AND  
THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE AGE TO COME*John the Baptist*

MATTHEW

iii. 5

LUKE

iii. 3

7-10

7-9

. . . and all the region round about Jordan . . . I  
 . . . But when he saw many coming to his baptism, he said unto them, Ye offspring of vipers, who warned you to flee from the wrath to come?  
 Bring forth therefore fruit worthy of repentance: and think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father: for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children  
 unto Abraham. And even now is the axe laid unto the root of the trees: every tree therefore that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire. 2

—

And the multitudes asked him, saying, What then must we do? And he answered and said unto them, He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none: and he that hath food, let him do likewise. And there came also publicans to be baptized, and they said unto him, Master, what must we do? And he said unto them, Extort no more than that which is appointed you. And soldiers also asked him, saying, And we, what must we do? And he said unto them, Do violence to no man, neither exact anything wrongfully; and be content with your wages. 3

10-14

11-12

4

16-17

. . . I indeed baptise you with water: but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: he shall baptise you with fire: whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly cleanse his threshing floor, and he will gather his wheat into the garner, but the chaff he will burn up with unquenchable fire.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. It is clear that we have not here the opening words of Q. There probably was a fuller account of the mission of the Baptist, but both Matthew and Luke begin their records of the ministry in Galilee with a section from Mark.

2. Thus early in the work, the distinction between Jew and Gentile is set aside.

3. This section is not in Matthew and therefore may not have been in Q. Nothing of importance depends on its inclusion or exclusion, but throughout the whole of the chapter dealing with the Baptist, St. Luke gives the impression that he is making use of two sources—Mark and Q—and not more than two. At all events, assuming that this is Q, our Luke can easily be constructed out of it by adding Mark and putting in Luke's characteristic bridges III. 1, 2; III. 15.

4. This passage also occurs in Mark, but there is more in Matthew and in Luke. A careful comparison of all three leads to the conclusion that there were *two* accounts—Mark's and this one, which is, therefore, Q. In place of the distinction between Jew and Gentile, attention is drawn to the sharp division between those who welcome the new light and those who do not. It is a recurring theme in Q and also in St. John's Gospel.

## CHAPTER 2

## [THE BAPTISM AND] TEMPTATION OF JESUS

I

MATTHEW

LUKE

Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil. And when he had fasted forty days and forty nights, he afterward hungered. And the tempter came and said unto him, If thou art the Son of God, command that these stones become bread. But he answered and said, It is written, MAN SHALL NOT LIVE BY BREAD ALONE.<sup>1</sup> Then the devil taketh him unto an exceeding high mountain, and sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them; and he said unto him, All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me. Then saith Jesus unto him, Get thee hence, Satan: for it is written, THOU SHALT WORSHIP THE LORD THY GOD, AND HIM ONLY SHALT THOU SERVE.<sup>2</sup> Again, the devil taketh him into Jerusalem, and he set him on the wing of the temple, and saith unto him, If thou art the Son of God, cast thyself down: for it is written,

HE SHALL GIVE HIS ANGELS CHARGE  
CONCERNING THEE:

AND ON THEIR HANDS THEY SHALL  
BEAR THEE UP,

LEST HAPLY THOU DASH THY FOOT  
AGAINST A STONE.<sup>3</sup>

Jesus said unto him, Again it is written, THOU SHALT NOT TEMPT THE LORD THY GOD.<sup>4</sup> Then the devil leaveth him.

---

<sup>1</sup> Deut. viii. 3 (Matthew completes the quotation by the addition of the words "but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.")

<sup>2</sup> Deut. vi. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. xci. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Deut. vi. 16.

iv. I-IIa

iv. I-13

2

3

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. It is difficult to exclude an account of the Baptism of Jesus from Q. It is needed for the argument and Harnack ("The Sayings of Jesus") gives impressive evidence in favour of a version of the voice more in accordance with Psalm II. 7. In view of this evidence it is impossible to ignore the version "Thou art my beloved son, this day have I begotten thee," as probably standing in Q. Early Christian writers had every incentive to alter these words because they lend colour to what was called "Adoptionist Heresy." Q could be acquitted of any such heresy, but the question had not arisen in his day.

2. Only the first part of the quotation from Deut. VI. is certainly Q—Matthew may have added the second part to complete it. The same applies to the quotation from the Psalms "on their hands—," which probably was *not* in Q.

3. The order of the second and third temptations is different in the two gospels of Matthew and Luke; Q's order cannot, therefore, be determined with certainty. It is generally safer to follow Matthew both in wording and in order, for he seems to have followed Q more closely than Luke. In this instance, however, though the matter is not of very great interest, there are reasons for preferring the order of Luke. It is easy to see why an author should wish to change Luke's order to Matthew's because the "kingdoms of the world" seem at first sight to offer a bigger temptation than the display of power indicated by the descent from the wing of the temple; but no one would make the opposite change unless he realised that the temptation to gain adherents by the use of miraculous powers was subtler and more attractive than that to become a military conqueror. Luke, with his love of miracles, would be most unlikely to place this temptation in the important position it occupies in his book if it had not so stood in his source, whereas it would be quite natural to Matthew to make the opposite change, for he, too, failed to realise the force of Q's diabolic crescendo, and the suspicion that he has here made an alteration in the order is strengthened by the ease with which the words can be put back again. In the text

CHAPTER 3  
THE NEW WAY

MATTHEW

v. 1-4

. . . his disciples came unto him: and he opened his mouth and taught them, saying,

Blessed are ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of heaven.

Blessed are ye that mourn: for ye shall be comforted.

6 Blessed are ye that hunger: for ye shall be filled. I

Blessed are ye when men shall reproach you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you. . . .

39a I say unto you, Resist not him that is evil, but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also, and if any man would go to law with thee, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also. Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away.

42

LUKE

vi. 20

21b

21a

22

23

—

29

30

here restored, the wording of Matthew has been preserved with the order of Luke.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. Luke (VI. 24-26) has four woes corresponding to the blessings. They are in keeping with the general plan of the book—and also with that of St. John's Gospel—and probably were in Q, but, as they are not in Matthew, they are here omitted. Luke's wording is given here, but some scholars prefer Matthew's. See p. 61.

2. "I say unto you" is often the beginning of a saying of Jesus in Q. Not infrequently it is preceded by (*'αμήν*) verily—the "verily, verily" of St. John.

MATTHEW

LUKE

|          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |        |
|----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
|          | . . . I say unto you: Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you; that ye may be sons of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good. For if ye love them that love you, what reward have ye? do not even the sinners the same? And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? do not even the sinners the same? Ye therefore shall be merciful, as your heavenly Father is merciful. | vi. 27 |
| v. 44-48 | Judge not, that ye be not judged. For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured unto you.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 32     |
|          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 36     |
| vii. 1-2 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 37-38  |

*The Golden Rule*

|    |                                                                                                           |    |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 12 | . . . All things therefore whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them. | 31 |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|

*The Two Houses*

|       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |       |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 24-27 | . . . Every one therefore which heareth these words of mine, and doeth them, I will show you to whom he is like. He is like unto a wise man, which built his house upon the rock: and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon the rock. And everyone that heareth these words of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand: and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and smote upon that house: and it fell: and great was the fall thereof. | 47-49 |
|       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 5     |

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3 (*contd.*)

3. The contrast is to the "sinners"—not, as sometimes in Matthew, to the Gentiles.

4. The sense demands Luke's "merciful" not "perfect" as in Matthew, who was probably influenced by Deut. XVIII. 13 and Gen. XVII. 1.

5. Again the contrast between those who accept and those who reject the call.



CHAPTER 4  
EXTENSION TO THE GENTILES

MATTHEW

LUKE

*The Centurion*

|            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |        |             |
|------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|-------------|
| viii. 5, 6 | And when he was entered into Capernaum, there came unto him a centurion, beseeching him, and saying, Lord, my servant lieth in the house sick of the palsy, grievously tormented.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | I      | vii. 1, 2   |
| —          | And the elders of the Jews besought him earnestly, saying, He is worthy that thou shouldest do this for him: for he loveth our nation, and himself built us our synagogue.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 2      | 4, 5        |
| 8-10       | And the centurion answered and said, Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof: but only say the word, and my servant shall be healed. For I also am a man under authority, having under myself soldiers: and I say to this one, Go, and he goeth: and to another, Come, and he cometh: and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it. And when Jesus heard it, he marvelled, and said to them that followed, Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel. And I say unto you, that many shall come | 3<br>4 | 7-9         |
| 11-12      | FROM THE EAST AND THE WEST, <sup>1</sup> and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven: but the sons of the kingdom shall be cast forth into the outer darkness: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 5      | xiii. 28-29 |

---

<sup>1</sup>Mal. i. 11; Is. lix. 19

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. There were evidently different versions of this incident. John (IV.) gives yet a third account, if, as many suppose, his story of the Nobleman's Son is really the same.

2. The omission of this interesting detail by Matthew is quite in keeping with his usual custom. He frequently omits such details in Marcan passages. Moreover testimonials to Gentiles were not usually welcome to him.

3. Here we have Q's characteristic "verily." Luke sometimes, as in this passage, omits it and sometimes he shows that the word stood in his source, because he inserts the Greek equivalent ἀληθῶς (truly). 'αμήν is a Hebrew word.

4. Both Matthew and Luke at this point insert words describing a stupendous miracle—to the effect that the centurion's servant was healed at a distance. Out of the fifty or so words which precede the healing, forty-eight are exactly the same in Matthew and in Luke, but when we come to the healing itself only one word "servant" is the same in the two versions, and this word "servant" translates different words in the Greek (παῖς and δοῦλος). Hence not one single word in the original texts of Matthew and Luke is the same. According, therefore, to the linguistic rule we are bound to follow, this verse will not figure in the text of Q, which must have been as shewn here. The story is designed to illustrate the greater faith of the Gentiles as compared with that of the true-born Israelites, and it has no other purpose. There was no miracle in the original Q, but both Matthew and Luke insert one, as they both do, also in different words and in different ways, with Mark's account of the healing of Jairus's daughter.

Naturally we should like to know what happened to this centurion and his servant. This Roman soldier must have been a man of great discernment and wide sympathies to have loved the despised people among whom he was sent as a conqueror, and to have built them a synagogue. But we are told nothing more. This interesting character is flashed on the screen and disappears again, just as in St. John's Gospel we hear of "Greeks

MATTHEW

LUKE

*Mustard Seed and Leaven*

xiii. 31-33      Unto what is the Kingdom of God like? and  
                          whereunto shall I liken it? It is like unto a grain  
                          of mustard seed, which a man took, and sowed in  
                          his field: which indeed is less than all seeds; but  
 xiii. 18-21      when it is grown, it is greater than the herbs,  
                          and becometh a tree, so that THE BIRDS  
                          OF THE HEAVEN come and LODGE IN THE 6  
                          BRANCHES THEREOF.<sup>1</sup>

Another parable spake he unto them: The  
 kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a  
 woman took, and hid in three measures of meal,  
 till it was all leavened.

---

<sup>1</sup>Dan iv. 12, 21; Ezek. xvii. 23

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4 (*contd.*)

who would see Jesus," but are not even told whether this request was granted or no. The assumption that the desire for an interview was satisfied is justified on general grounds, and it is equally certain that Jesus went to the centurion's house, but Q has made his point and, like St. John, he leaves us to finish the story for ourselves.

5. "There shall be the weeping and the gnashing of teeth"—a frequent phrase in Q—perhaps it was a current saying.

6. There is, of course, no textual evidence for inserting this passage in just this place, but it is certainly Q, and it assists the argument. Although the Mustard Seed is Mark, it is likely that it occurred also in Q side by side with the Leaven, though this need not mean that they were spoken by Jesus at the same time. It is probable that the same thought was expressed in different ways on different occasions.

## CHAPTER 5

## RELATIONSHIP OF THE NEW TO THE OLD

## (a) FRIENDLY

MATTHEW

LUKE

*The Deputation from the Baptist*

xi. 2-11

vii. 18-19

Now when John heard in the prison of the works of the Christ, he sent by his disciples, and said unto him, Art thou he that cometh, or look we for another? And Jesus answered and said unto them, Go your way and tell John the things which ye do hear and see: THE BLIND RECEIVE THEIR SIGHT,<sup>1</sup> and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, and the dead are raised up, and THE POOR HAVE GOOD TIDINGS PREACHED TO THEM.<sup>2</sup>

I

22-28

<sup>1</sup> Is. xxxv. 5.<sup>2</sup> Is. lxi. 1.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

I. "The blind receive their sight . . ." All this is strongly reminiscent of Isaiah XXXV. 5, and LXI. 1, where the blindness is spiritual not physical. The question arises—are the words in these verses to be read literally or metaphorically, as applying to the physical world or the spiritual? If Jesus is speaking of the blind, lame, leprous, deaf and dead in a literal sense, we are faced with formidable difficulties. The Temptation story has been told in vain, and the Sign of Jonah becomes unintelligible. Further, if John the Baptist needs signs of this kind is he to be placed with "this wicked and adulterous generation?" And if these first five—blind, lame, leprous, deaf and dead—are suffering *physically*, then what of the *sixth* category? The climax, "the poor have good tidings preached to them," will make a somewhat awkward and prominent anti-climax.

It must be remembered, too, that anyone trained in the Hebrew scriptures was accustomed to make use of metaphorical language to an extent almost inconceivable to us who, by training and long habit, look somewhat suspiciously at anything but plain language. If a metaphorical and a literal interpretation are equally possible in any passage of the Bible, there ought to be little doubt as to our choice. In hardly any such case, did the author intend the literal meaning to be understood. In the passage before us, the literal and metaphorical interpretations are not equally probable. The weight of evidence tells against the literal.

True, St. Luke is on the other side, for he shows Jesus actually performing specimen miracles for the benefit of the emissaries, but no one who compares Matthew and Luke here will have much doubt as to which is correct. Luke is obliged to *repeat* information already given by Q in order to provide a proper background for his scene, and he feels that he must mention the special healing of blind persons because hitherto, although he has related miracles coming under each of the other headings (including the raising of the dead), he does not happen to have mentioned the healing of a blind man.<sup>1</sup> The scene, as St. Luke describes it, defies

<sup>1</sup> See Schmiedel: *The Johannine Writings*, where the metaphorical interpretation is stressed.

MATTHEW

xi. 2-11

And blessed is he, whosoever shall find none occasion of stumbling in me. And as these went their way, Jesus began to say unto the multitudes concerning John, What went ye out into the wilderness to behold? a reed shaken with the wind? But what went ye out for to see? a man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they that wear soft raiment are in king's houses. But wherefore went ye out? to see a prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and much more than a prophet. This is he, of whom it is written,

BEHOLD, I SEND MY MESSENGER BEFORE THY FACE,  
WHO SHALL PREPARE THY WAY BEFORE THEE.<sup>1</sup>

Verily I say unto you, Among them that are born of women there hath not arisen a greater than John the Baptist: yet he that is but little in the kingdom of God is greater than he. And from the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and men of violence take it by force. For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John . . .

12-13

<sup>1</sup> Mal. iii. 1.

LUKE

vii. 22-28

2

xvi. 16

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5 (*contd.*)

imagination, but the insertion of these two verses gives a sure indication of the beliefs of the author of our third gospel. Although, however, in Luke, verses 20, 21, have clearly been added to Q, it may seem to some people that in spite of the difficulties attending any literal interpretation of this passage, yet St. Luke was not entirely mistaken. "Here," says Jesus according to this view, "the Son of man is seen bringing light and life, enlightenment and healing to all classes of people—and blessed is he who finds no occasion of stumbling." There is no essential distinction between material and spiritual—all is one and the material may be used to express the spiritual. This is true sacramentalism—the outward and visible sign of the inward and spiritual grace—and there can be no doubt of its validity, though the balance of probability is against such an interpretation of this particular passage, for it will be observed that Q has not given us any of these marvels in his own book and it is therefore impossible for Jesus to refer to them.

It must not be supposed that "the poor" who have the Gospel preached to them are those who are poor in this world's goods. Matthew's "poor in spirit" in the Beatitudes is probably Q, but in any case is intended as a warning against such a materialistic interpretation. The tax-gatherers were certainly not poor men in a worldly sense and they were just the people who had the good news preached to them.

2. Certain coins of Herod's reign bear the device of a papyrus apparently shaken by the wind. It is possible that Jesus intended to picture a series—King, Courtier, Prophet—"and much more than a prophet." There is another instance of such a series in Q in the account of the Temptation. Jesus is urged to imitate (*a*) Moses (bread in the wilderness); (*b*) David (the warrior-king); (*c*) Enoch's man from the clouds.



MATTHEW

xi. 14

And if ye are willing to receive it, this is Elijah, 3  
which is to come.<sup>1</sup>

v. 18

For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth  
pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise  
pass away from the law, till all things be accom-  
plished.

xvi. 17

4

*The Children in the Market Place*

xi. 16-19

But whereunto shall I liken this generation? It  
is like unto children sitting in the market places,  
which call unto their fellows, and say, We piped  
unto you, and ye did not dance; we wailed, and  
ye did not mourn. For John came neither eating  
nor drinking, and they say, He hath a devil. The  
Son of man came eating and drinking, and they  
say, Behold, a gluttonous man, and a winebibber,  
a friend of publicans and sinners! And wisdom is  
justified by her children.

vii. 31-35

---

<sup>1</sup> Mal. iv. 5.

LUKE

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5 (*contd.*)

3. This occurs twice in Matthew: once in a Marcan section, and in such instances of doublets it is generally safe to refer the other one to Q. Whether Q or not, this is a very clear indication that Jesus sometimes allegorised Old Testament prophecies.

4. This remark about the fulfilment of the law is puzzling. St. Luke's version is so different from St. Matthew's that it is not certain that the words stood in Q, but probably they did. If so, Matthew's version is, as usual, to be preferred to Luke's. The words cannot be taken literally: if they came in Q, they must have occurred where they are placed in our text, and Jesus himself has just warned us against literal interpretation of prophecy. Moreover, the law has been itself made to "prophecy"—a highly metaphorical use of the word "law." The meaning is that the prophets were, like the Baptist, forerunners of Christ.

## CHAPTER 6

## PERILS OF THE WAY

MATTHEW

v. 13

Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out and trodden under foot of men. Ye are the light of the world. A city set on a hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a lamp, and put it under the bushel, but on the stand; and it shineth unto all that are in the house.

14

15

25, 26

. . . Agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art with him in the way; lest haply the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer and thou be cast into prison. Verily I say unto thee, Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou have paid the last farthing.

vi. 22, 23

24

. . . The lamp of the body is the eye: if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light. But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is the darkness! No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

vii. 3-5

21

. . . And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me cast out the mote out of thine eye; and lo, the beam is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.

And why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?

LUKE

xiv. 34

—

xi. 33

I xii. 58, 59

xi. 34, 35

xvi. 13

vi. 41, 42

46

MATTHEW

LUKE

- viii. 19-22 . . . And there came a certain man, and said unto him, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest. And Jesus saith unto him, The foxes have holes, and the birds of the heaven have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head. And another said unto him, Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father. But Jesus saith unto him, Follow me; and leave the dead to bury their own dead.
- And another also said, I will follow thee, Lord; but first suffer me to bid farewell to them that are at my house. But Jesus said unto him, No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.
- x. 24, 25a . . . A disciple is not above his master, nor a servant above his lord. It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master, and the servant as his lord.
- 32, 33 . . . Every one therefore who shall confess me before men, him will I also confess. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny. . . . Enter ye in by the narrow gate: for wide is the gate and broad the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many be they that enter in thereby. For narrow is the gate and straitened the way, that leadeth unto life, and few be they that find it. . . . By their fruits ye shall know them. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but the corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.
- vii. 13, 14 . . . for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh. The good man out of his good treasure bringeth forth good things: and the evil man out of his evil treasure bringeth forth evil things.
- 16-18

ix. 57-60a

61, 62

vi. 40

I  
xii. 8, 9

xiii. 24

vi. 43, 44

vi. 45

MATTHEW

LUKE

x. 34, 35

xii. 51, 53

37, 38

2 xiv. 26, 27

—

xiv. 28-33

v. 32

3

xvi. 18

. . . Think ye that I came to send peace on the earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword. For I came to set a man at variance AGAINST HIS FATHER, AND THE DAUGHTER AGAINST HER MOTHER, AND THE DAUGHTER IN LAW AGAINST HER MOTHER IN LAW;<sup>1</sup> He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me: and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me. And he that doth not take his cross and follow after me, is not worthy.

For which of you, desiring to build a tower, doth not first sit down and count the cost, whether he have wherewith to complete it? Lest haply, when he hath laid a foundation, and is not able to finish, all that behold begin to mock him, saying, This man began to build, and was not able to finish. Or what king, as he goeth to encounter another king in war, will not sit down first and take counsel whether he is able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand? Or else, while the other is yet a great way off, he sendeth an ambassage, and asketh conditions of peace. So therefore whosoever he be of you that renounceth not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple.

. . . I say unto you, that every one that putteth away his wife, maketh her an adulteress: and whosoever shall marry her when she is put away committeth adultery.

---

<sup>1</sup>Mic. vii. 6 (Matthew completes the quotation by adding "and a man's foes shall be they of his own household" which probably was not in Q.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. As in the Fourth Gospel, "judgment" is here and now. The awfulness of the present choice is fully emphasised in this chapter of Q.

2. Luke has "hateth not his own father . . ." Matthew gives the true meaning, but this extraordinary form is perhaps more likely to be the original though Harnack thinks that Luke was influenced by Mark X. 29. In either form, the passage is a good example of Eastern exaggeration of language. No one was expected to take Luke's version literally.

3. The assumption is that a woman so "put away" will certainly marry again.

The following passages probably have a Q origin:

Matthew VII. 22, 23—

Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy by thy name, and by thy name cast out devils, and by thy name do many mighty works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: "depart from me ye that work iniquity."

Luke XIII. 26, 27—

Then shall ye begin to say, We did eat and drink in thy presence, and thou didst teach in our streets; and he shall say, I tell you, I know not whom ye are; "depart from me all ye workers of iniquity."

## CHAPTER 7

THE GLORIES OF THE WAY: ALL THINGS ARE  
POSSIBLE

MATTHEW

LUKE

vi. 19-21

xii. 33, 34

Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth, where moth and rust doth consume, and where thieves break through and steal: but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth consume, and where thieves do not break through nor steal: for where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be also.

— . . . And he said unto them, Which of you shall have a friend, and shall go unto him at midnight, and say to him, Friend, lend me three loaves; for a friend of mine is come to me from a journey, and I have nothing to set before him: and he from within shall answer and say, Trouble me not: the door is now shut, and my children are with me in bed; I cannot rise and give thee? I say unto you, Though he will not rise and give him, because he is his friend, yet because of his importunity he will arise and give him as many as he needeth.

xi. 5-8

vii. 7-11

xi. 9-13

Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you: for every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened. Or what man is there of you, who, if his son shall ask him for a loaf, will give him a stone; or if he shall ask for a fish, will give him a serpent? If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father in heaven give good things to them that ask him?

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

I. "Break" through is "dig" through in the Greek. It was the practice of night thieves to dig a hole in the mud walls of a house. Luke has "no thief draweth near," perhaps because he was not acquainted with such primitive architecture.



MATTHEW

vi. 25-33

. . . Therefore I say unto you, Be not anxious for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than the food, and the body than the raiment? Behold the birds of the heaven, that they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; and your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are not ye of much more value than they? And which of you by being anxious can add one cubit unto his stature? And why are ye anxious concerning raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin: yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. But if God doth so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith? Be not therefore anxious, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? For after all these things do the Gentiles seek; for your Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye his kingdom; and all these things shall be added unto you.

34

Be not therefore anxious for the morrow: for the morrow will be anxious for itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

—

. . . Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom.

LUKE

xii. 22-31

2

—

xii. 32

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7 (*contd.*)

2. Luke (XII. 26) adds at this point, "If then ye are not able to do even that which is least, why are ye anxious concerning the rest?"

It is not known why St. Luke substituted "sycamine tree" for "mountain." See also 1 Cor. XIII. 2.

## MATTHEW

## LUKE

- xvii. 20b . . . verily I say unto you, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place; and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible unto you. 2 xvii. 6
- x. 29-31 . . . Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and not one of them shall fall on the ground without your Father: but the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear not therefore; ye are of more value than many sparrows. xii. 6, 7
- xxv. 29 . . . For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken away. 3 xix. 26
- and
- xiii. 12

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7 (*contd.*)

3. This saying is clearly Q. In Matthew it occurs in the parable of the Talents and in Luke in that of the Pounds. This is strong evidence, so far as it goes, for the inclusion of the former parable in Q, but the matter is not certain. Furthermore, this saying occurs also in Mark (copied by Matthew) and there it comes in connection with the parable of the Sower. It is the promulgation of the Law of Justice. Those who make use of the powers God has entrusted to them will find these powers increase, while neglect of any faculty leads to its ultimate loss.

## CHAPTER 8

## HUMILITY AND FORGIVENESS

| MATTHEW       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | LUKE       |
|---------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| xx. 16        | . . . the last shall be first, and the first last.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | I xiii. 30 |
| [xix. 30]     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |            |
| xxiii. 12     | And whosoever shall exalt himself shall be humbled; and whosoever shall humble himself shall be exalted.                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | xiv. 11    |
|               | . . . Verily I say unto you, Except ye turn, and become as little children, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven.                                                                        | 2 [xiv.]   |
| xviii. 3, 4,  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |            |
|               | See that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.                                                                                                                                                               | —          |
| xviii. 10     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |            |
|               | . . . Woe unto the world because of occasions of stumbling! for it must needs be that the occasions come; but woe to that man through whom the occasion cometh!                                                                                                                                                            | xvii. 1    |
| xviii. 7      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |            |
| xviii. 12, 13 | How think ye? If any man have a hundred sheep, and one of them be gone astray, doth he not leave the ninety and nine, and go unto the mountains, and seek that which goeth astray? And if so be that he find it, verily I say unto you, he rejoiceth over it more than over the ninety and nine that have not gone astray. | xv. 4-6    |
|               | I say unto you, that even so there shall be joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine righteous persons, which need no repentance.                                                                                                                                                      | 3 xv. 7    |
| —             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |            |

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

1. It will be observed that throughout the whole of this chapter one condition and one only is insisted upon as requisite for forgiveness and this condition is repentance.

2. The marginal references to these passages show that it is not possible to prove that they are genuine Q. The thoughts of Matthew XVIII. 3, 4, 10 occur in Luke, though not the words. In Matthew they occur mingled with what is certainly Q, and this greatly adds to the probability of their Q origin. The "unprofitable servant" is not in Matthew, but it reads like Q, and comes in proximity to other Q matter in Luke.

3. At this point Matthew departs from Q and draws a conclusion of his own from the story, "even so it is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that one of these little ones should perish" (XVIII. 14). This is a legitimate deduction, but Luke's verse (XV. 7) is far more likely to have been the original, though it is probable that Luke has followed his usual custom and made slight changes in the wording. "Verily I say unto you" (Mt. XVIII. 13) and "I say unto you" (Luke XV. 7) are characteristic of Q, as is also "How think ye?" at the beginning of the passage.

MATTHEW

LUKE

xviii. 15, 21, 22 . . . And if thy brother sin against thee, go, shew him his fault between thee and him alone: if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. Then came [Peter] and said to him, Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? until seven times? Jesus saith unto him, I say not unto thee, Until seven times; but, Until seventy times seven.

xvii. 3

xvii. 4

— But who is there of you, having a servant plowing or keeping sheep, that will say unto him, when he is come in from the field, Come straightway and sit down to meat; and will not rather say unto him, Make ready wherewith I may sup, and gird thyself, and serve me, till I have eaten and drunken; and afterwards thou shalt eat and drink? Doth he thank the servant because he did the things that were commanded? Even so ye also, when ye shall have done all the things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which it was our duty to do.

4  
xvii. 7-10

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8 (*cont.*)

4. The parable of the Unprofitable Servant is Luke only and may not have been in Q, but it is in keeping with Q's somewhat stern view of life.



## CHAPTER 9

## COMMISSION TO THE DISCIPLES

MATTHEW

LUKE

ix. 37, 38

. . . saith he unto his disciples, The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few. Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he send forth labourers into his harvest.

I x. 2

x. 16

. . . Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves: be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.

3

9-15

Get you no gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses; no wallet for your journey, neither two coats, nor shoes, nor staff: for the labourer is worthy of his food. And into whatsoever city or village ye shall enter, search out who in it is worthy; and there abide till ye go forth. And as ye enter into the house, salute it. And if the house be worthy, let your peace come upon it: but if it be not worthy, let your peace return to you. And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words, as ye go forth out of that house or that city, shake off the dust of your feet. Verily I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for that city.

4-12

xi. 21-23

Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon which were done in you, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes. Howbeit I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the day of judgment, than for you. And thou, Capernaum, shalt thou be exalted unto heaven? thou shalt go down unto Hades: for if the mighty works had been done in Sodom which were done in thee, it would have remained until this day.

x. 13-15

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

1. It is very difficult to disentangle the charge to the seventy (in Luke) from the charge to the twelve which is in Mark, but this reconstruction of Q must, as regards meaning, be mainly right, though the actual words are in some parts irrecoverable.

## MATTHEW

x. 40

He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that  
receiveth me receiveth him that sent me.

But blessed are your eyes, for they see; and your  
ears, for they hear. For verily I say unto you, that  
many prophets and kings desired to see the things  
which ye see, and saw them not: and to hear the  
things which ye hear, and heard them not.

xiii. 16, 17

## LUKE

2 x. 16

23, 24

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9 (*contd.*)

2. Again a suggestion of the Fourth Gospel: both thought and language are thoroughly Johannine (but it is only fair to add that Q's word for "sent" is not John's favourite one in this connection).

## CHAPTER 10

## RELATIONSHIP OF THE NEW TO THE OLD

## (b) HOSTILE

MATTHEW

LUKE

*Healing on the Sabbath*

- xii. 10a, 11 . . . And they asked him, saying, Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath day? And he said unto them, What man shall there be of you, that shall have one sheep, and if this fall into a pit on the sabbath day, will he not lay hold on it, and lift it out? xiv. 3, 5

*The Beelzebub Controversy*

- 22-27 And he was casting out a devil which was dumb. And it came to pass, when the devil was gone out, the dumb man spake; and the multitudes marvelled. But some of them said, By Beelzebub the prince of the devils casteth he out devils. And knowing their thoughts he said unto them, Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand: and if Satan casteth out Satan, he is divided against himself; how then shall his kingdom stand? And if I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your sons cast them out? therefore shall they be your judges. But if 2
- 28-30 I by the FINGER OF GOD<sup>1</sup> cast out devils, then is the kingdom of God come upon you. Or how can one enter into the house of the strong man, and spoil his goods, except he first bind the strong man? and then he will spoil his house. He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth. Therefore I say unto you, whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever shall speak against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him. xi. 14, 15
- 31, 32 3 20-23
- 4 xii. 10

<sup>1</sup>Exod. viii. 19; xxxi. 18 and other Old Testament passages.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER IO

1. Matthew ends with "How much then is a man of more value than a sheep!"

2. The Beelzebub Controversy occurs both in Mark and in Q, and it is, therefore, a matter of some difficulty to determine the limits of Q. The reconstruction here inserted must be very like the original, though Q was probably considerably longer.

3. Matthew makes the devil *blind and* dumb.

4. Matthew adds "neither in this world, nor in that which is to come." Since these words do not occur in Luke, we may be permitted to regard them as an editorial comment.

MATTHEW

LUKE

*The Sign of Jonah*

3

xii. 38-45

xi. 16

29b

32

31

24-26

[They said to] him, We would see a sign from thee. But he said unto them, An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given to it but the sign of Jonah the prophet: for as Jonah was to the Ninevites, so shall the Son of man be to the men of this generation: the men of Nineveh shall stand up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: for they repented at the preaching of Jonah; and behold, a greater than Jonah is here. The queen of the south shall rise up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: for she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and behold, a greater than Solomon is here. But the unclean spirit, when he is gone out of the man, passeth through waterless places, seeking rest, and findeth it not. Then he saith, I will return into my house whence I came out; and when he is come, he findeth it empty, swept, and garnished. Then goeth he, and taketh with himself seven other spirits more evil than himself, and they enter in and dwell there: and the last state of that man becometh worse than the first.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 10 (*contd.*)

3. *The Sign of Jonah.* Matthew (XII. 40) has a remarkable addition here to the text of Q.

"For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale, so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." This is a very ingenious explanation of the "Sign of Jonah," but could it benefit those who were demanding a sign? If this was to be the sign, it could only be understood after the condemnation of the very One whose claims were held in question by them. The verse is not in Luke and could not possibly have been in Q. It is an attempted solution of what is really no difficulty and it may be a gloss. The Ninevites repented at the *preaching* of Jonah—"and a greater than Jonah is here." The Ninevites never heard of the whale. It is perhaps hardly necessary to state that the Book of Jonah is an allegory, in which the swallowing by the great fish represents the Babylonian captivity. The Book of Jonah is a missionary tract written to urge the Jews to offer the blessings of their own enlightened religion to the ignorant Gentiles, many of whom could "not discern between their right hand and their left hand." (Jonah IV. 11.) The Sign of Jonah passage in Q repeats and confirms the lesson of the third Temptation. No signs shall be given because goodness must stand by itself—without power, without prosperity. Triumphant goodness is easily recognised—a much higher standard of discernment is demanded of members of Christ's kingdom.



MATTHEW

LUKE

*Woe to the Pharisees*

|           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |        |        |
|-----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|--------|
| xxiii. 13 | But woe unto you, Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye shut the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye enter not in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering in to enter.                                                                                                                                                            | 4      | xi. 52 |
| 23        | Woe unto you, Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye tithe mint and anise and cummin, and have left undone the weightier matters of the law, judgment, and mercy; but these ye ought to have done, and not to have left the other undone.                                                                                                             | 42     | 5      |
| 24        | Ye blind guides, which strain out the gnat, and swallow the camel.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | —      |        |
| 25-26     | Woe unto you, Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye cleanse the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess. Thou blind Pharisee, did not he that made the outside make the inside also?                                                                                                                 | 39     | 40     |
| 29-31     | Woe unto you, Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye build the sepulchres of the prophets, and garnish the tombs of the righteous, and say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we should not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets. Wherefore ye witness to yourselves, that ye are sons of them that slew the prophets. | 47, 48 |        |

NOTES TO CHAPTER IO (*contd.*)

4. Matthew associates "scribes" throughout with the Pharisees. There seems to be no authority in Q for this addition. In Q the attack is directed against the Pharisees alone.
5. Matthew adds here "and faith."

## MATTHEW

## LUKE

|              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |              |
|--------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| xxiii. 4     | They bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with their finger.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | xi. 46       |
| xv. 14       | Let them alone: they are blind guides. And if the blind guide the blind, both shall fall into a pit. Therefore also said the Wisdom of God, I will                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | vi. 39       |
| xxiii. 34-36 | send unto them prophets and wise men and scribes; and some of them they shall kill and persecute; that the blood of all the prophets, which was shed from the foundation of the world, may be required of this generation; from the blood of Abel unto the blood of Zachariah, who perished between the altar and the sanctuary: yea, I say unto you, it shall be required of this generation. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killeth the prophets, and stoneth them that are sent unto her! | xi. 49-51    |
| 37-39        | how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, YOUR HOUSE IS LEFT UNTO YOU DESOLATE. <sup>1</sup> For I say unto you, Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, BLESSED IS HE THAT COMETH IN THE NAME OF THE LORD. <sup>2</sup>                                                                                                                                                            | xiii. 34, 35 |

---

<sup>1</sup> Jer. xxii. 5; xii. 7.      <sup>2</sup> Ps. cxviii. 26.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IO (*contd.*)

6. It is clear, both from the form of the passage and from Luke's introduction to it, that Jesus is here quoting from a book (or a speaker in a book) called "The Wisdom of God." We know that there were many books widely read at this time which were not included in the Canon either of the Old or New Testaments. Some, but not all, of these books have been preserved. This quotation is from a book that has not survived. "The Wisdom of God" was a current phrase. Apparently the "Wisdom of God" sent scribes as well as prophets and wise men, for Matthew has the word, and it comes with such startling force immediately after the denunciation of the scribes, that it must have been in the original, for Matthew could hardly have inserted it.

Luke has separated this "wisdom" passage from "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem." In Q the two probably ran consecutively as they do in Matthew. It seems quite likely that "O Jerusalem" is a continuation of the quotation and therefore intended as the words of "The Wisdom."

## CHAPTER II

## AGALLIASIS—THE CLIMAX

MATTHEW

LUKE

He said unto them, I beheld Satan as lightning  
fall from heaven. Behold, I give you power to  
tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all  
the power of the enemy: and nothing shall by any  
means hurt you. Notwithstanding in this rejoice  
not, that the spirits are subject unto you: but  
rather rejoice, because your names are written in  
heaven.

1

x. 18-20

—

At that season Jesus said, I thank thee, O Father,  
Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide  
these things from the wise and understanding, and  
didst reveal them unto babes: yea, Father, for so  
it was well-pleasing in thy sight. All knowledge  
has been delivered unto me of my Father: and no  
one hath known the Father, save the Son, and he  
to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him.

2

x. 21, 22

xi. 25-27

Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy  
laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke  
upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly  
in heart: and YE SHALL FIND REST UNTO  
YOUR SOULS.<sup>1</sup> For my yoke is easy, and my  
burden is light.

28-30

—

---

<sup>1</sup>Jer. vi. 16.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER II

*Agalliasis*

1. An exceptionally good example of Q's bold use of metaphor. No one supposes that followers of Jesus are immune from snake-poison, yet it is true that nothing shall by any means hurt them.

2. The word "*agalliasis*" means "exultation," and occurs in such passages as "Rejoice and *be exceeding glad*" (Matt. V. 12=Q); it is used as a heading for this very important chapter in Q, because St. Luke says: "In that same hour, he rejoiced in the Holy Spirit and said . . ." (X. 21). It is not a favourite word with Q—in fact, Matthew V. 12 is the only certain instance of it, and probably it did not occur in Q in this particular passage, but the word is striking and convenient, and it was perhaps for that reason that it was inserted by Luke in this section of Q.

The translation given in the text is based on Harnack, who argues cogently for this rendering of Matthew XI. 27, but as scholars are not agreed on the subject it will be well to print the Matthew verse for comparison:

"All *things* have been delivered unto me of my Father: and no one *knoweth the Son, save the Father; neither doth any know* the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him."

Italics are used to draw attention to the differences from Harnack's version.

The whole of this Q Chapter constitutes a Song of Triumph. This is especially noticeable in Luke and an examination of the setting in that Gospel reveals Luke's reason for the omission of "come unto me . . ." He has introduced the scene by one of his bridge passages "and the seventy returned . . ." A universal invitation, "come unto me *all* . . ." would have spoilt Luke's artistic scheme. With Luke the entire passage is an *agalliasis*, but it is an affair of intimacy between Jesus and the disciples from which the multitudes are, for the time being, necessarily excluded. Matthew must have been following Q in XI. 28-30, "come unto

MATTHEW

LUKE

vi. 9-13

. . . After this manner therefore pray ye: Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors. And bring us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one.

3 xi. 1-4

NOTES TO CHAPTER II (*contd.*)

me . . .” though the quotation from Jeremiah is probably an editorial addition. The verses Mt. xi. 25-30 constitute a three stanza poem of a kind familiar to readers of the prophets, whose words were often preserved in semi-metrical form. The three stanzas begin with (1) I thank thee . . . (2) All things . . . (3) Come unto me . . .

For a discussion of the meaning of the *Agalliasis* passage as a whole reference must be made to Chapter VII of this book.

3. *The Lord's Prayer*. There are several variants of the Lord's Prayer and only the very shortest form can be certainly shown to be Q, nor can its position in Q be determined with any accuracy. It came here if we are to follow Luke's order at this point; and this is its most appropriate portion.



CHAPTER 12  
ESCHATOLOGY

MATTHEW

LUKE

- xvi. 2, 3      He said unto them, When it is evening, ye say,  
It will be fair weather: for the heaven is red. And  
in the morning, It will be foul weather to-day: for  
the heaven is red and lowring. Ye know how to  
discern the face of the heaven; but ye cannot dis-  
cern the signs of the times.
- x. 26b-28      . . . for there is nothing covered, that shall not  
be revealed; and hid, that shall not be known.  
What I tell you in the darkness, speak ye in the  
light: and what ye hear in the ear, proclaim upon  
the house-tops. And be not afraid of them which  
kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but  
rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul  
and body in hell.
- 39      . . . He that findeth his life shall lose it; and he  
that loseth his life for my sake shall find it.  
. . . And as were the days of Noah, so shall be  
the coming of the Son of man. For as in those
- xxiv. 37-41      days which were before the flood they were eating  
and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage,  
until the day that Noah entered into the ark, and  
they knew not until the flood came, and took  
them all away; so shall be the coming of the Son  
of man. Then shall two men be in the field; one  
is taken, and one is left: two women shall be  
grinding at the mill; one is taken, and one is left.  
. . . Likewise even as it came to pass in the days  
of Lot; they ate, they drank, they bought, they  
sold, they planted, they builded; but in the day  
that Lot went out from Sodom it rained fire and  
brimstone from heaven, and destroyed them all:  
after the same manner shall it be in the day that  
the Son of man is revealed.
- xii. 54-56
- 2-4
- xvii. 33
- xvii. 26, 27
- 34, 35
- xvii. 28-30

MATTHEW

LUKE

xxiv. 43-51

. . . But know this, that if the master of the house had known in what watch the thief was coming, he would have watched, and would not have suffered his house to be broken through. Therefore be ye also ready: for in an hour that ye think not the Son of man cometh. Who then is the faithful and wise servant, whom his lord hath set over his household, to GIVE THEM THEIR FOOD IN DUE SEASON?<sup>1</sup> Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing. Verily I say unto you, that he will set him over all that he hath. But if that evil servant shall say in his heart, My lord tarrieth; and shall begin to beat his fellow-servants, and shall eat and drink with the drunken; the lord of that servant shall come in a day when he expecteth not, and in an hour when he knoweth not, and shall cut him asunder, and appoint his portion with the hypocrites: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth.

xii. 39, 40

42-46

xix. 28b

. . . ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging I xxii. 30b  
the twelve tribes of Israël.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ps. civ. 27.

## NOTE TO CHAPTER 12

1. For a fuller discussion of Q's Eschatology see Chapter X of this book. The whole tenor of Q, as also that of Christ's teaching, forbids any crude, literal interpretation. In particular, we must guard against literalism when interpreting the "twelve thrones." The Apostles are not to "lord" it over the twelve tribes like Eastern Potentates; they, like their Master, are to be as those who serve. Just as Moses, on the advice of Jethro, appointed twelve "judges" to assist him in the promulgation of the old religion, so the twelve Apostles are to be ministers of the Gospel of Jesus.

## ENVOY

MATTHEW

xxiv. 28

Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles  
be gathered together.

LUKE

xvii. 37

## NOTE TO ENVOY

I. It cannot, of course, be proved that these were really the last words in the original Q. The most that can be said is that they *may* have been and that they form a most fitting closing scene. The "eagles" may be taken to signify the leaders—Priests, Pharisees, Scribes, Lawyers—left to pick what they can find off the carcase of Judaism. Properly understood "the eagles and the carcase" would make a good title to the Gospel of Q. The author invites us to share in the free life of Christ and to leave the sacerdotalist to devour the carcase of institutionalism.

## SYNOPSIS OF Q

## CHAPTER I.—THE BEST UNDER THE OLD DISPENSATION AND THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE NEW AGE TO COME. JOHN THE BAPTIST.

Mt. iii. 5, 7-10, —, 11, 12.

Lk. iii. 3, 7-14, 16, 17.

## CHAPTER 2.—[BAPTISM AND] TEMPTATION OF JESUS.

Mt. iv. 1-11a.

Lk. iv. 1-13.

## CHAPTER 3.—THE NEW WAY. Beatitudes; resist not evil; love enemies; judge not; the golden rule; the two houses.

Mt. v. 1-4, 6, 11, 12, 39a, 39b, 40, 42, 44-48,

Lk. vi. 20, 21b, 21a, 22, 23, —, 29, 30, 27, 32, 36,

Mt. vii. 1, 2, 12, 24-27.

Lk. vi. 37, 38, 31, 47-49.

## CHAPTER 4.—EXTENSION TO THE GENTILES. The Roman Centurion. The mustard seed and the leaven.

Mt. viii. 5, 6 — 8-10, 11, 12 xiii. 31-33.

Lk. vii. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7-9 xiii. 28, 29, xiii. 18-21.

## CHAPTER 5.—RELATION OF THE NEW TO THE OLD (a) FRIENDLY. The deputation from the Baptist; the children playing in the market place.

Mt. xi. 2-11, 12, 13, 14, v. 18, xi. 16-19.

Lk. vii. 18, 19, 22-28, xvi. 16, —, 17, vii. 31-35.

## CHAPTER 6.—PERILS OF THE WAY. Salt of the earth; light of the world; agree with thine adversary; lamp of the body; ye cannot serve God and mammon; mote and beam; why call ye me Lord, Lord?; foxes have holes; no man, having put his hand to plough and looking back is fit for the kingdom; disciple not above his Lord; confession before men; the narrow gate; by their fruits ye shall know them; not peace but a sword; take up cross and follow; counting the cost; adultery.

Mt. v. 13, 14, 15, 25, 26, vi. 22, 23, 24.

Lk. xiv. 34, —, xi. 33, xii. 58, 59, xi. 34, 35, xvi. 13.

Mt. vii. 3-5, 21, viii. 19-22, — x. 24, 25a, 32, 33.  
 Lk. vi. 41, 42, 46, ix. 57-60a, ix. 61, 62, vi. 40, xii. 8, 9.  
 Mt. vii. 13, 14, 16-18, xii. 34b, 35, x. 34, 35, 37, 38,  
 Lk. xiii. 24, vi. 43, 44, 45, xii. 51, 53, xiv. 26, 27,  
 Mt. —, v. 32.  
 Lk. xiv. 28-33, xvi. 18.

CHAPTER 7.—THE GLORIES OF THE WAY. Where the treasure is; the importunate friend; ask, seek, knock; take no thought for the morrow; fear not little flock; nothing impossible; hairs of your head all numbered; unto everyone that hath shall be given.

Mt. vi. 19-21, —, vii. 7-11, vi. 25-33, 34, —,  
 Lk. xii. 33, 34, xi. 5-8, xi. 9-13, xii. 22-31, —, xii. 32,  
 Mt. xvii. 20b, x. 29-31, xxv. 29.  
 Lk. xvii. 6, xii. 6, 7, xix. 26

CHAPTER 8.—HUMILITY AND FORGIVENESS. Last first; exalted humbled; become as children; forgive until seventy times seven; we are unprofitable servants.

Mt. xx. 16 (xix. 30), xxiii. 12  
 Lk. xiii. 30, xiv. 11  
 Mt. xviii. 3, 4, 10, 7, 12, 13, — 15, 21, 22  
 Lk. — xvii. 1, xv. 4-6, 7, xvii. 3, 4  
 Mt. —  
 Lk. xvii. 7-10.

CHAPTER 9.—COMMISSION TO THE DISCIPLES TO CARRY THE MESSAGE TO ALL. The harvest is plenteous; sheep amid wolves; be wise and harmless; labourer worthy of his food; woes to cities that refuse; he that receiveth you receiveth me; and him that sent me; blessed are your eyes.

Mt. ix. 37, 38, x. 16, 9-15, xi. 21-23, x. 40, xiii. 16, 17.  
 Lk. x. 2, 3, 4-12, x. 13-15, 16, 23, 24.

CHAPTER 10.—RELATIONSHIP OF THE NEW TO THE OLD.

(b) HOSTILE. HEALING ON THE SABBATH AND THE BEELZEBUB CONTROVERSY. It is lawful to do good on the Sabbath; Kingdom divided against itself; by whom do your sons cast out devils?; the sin against the Holy Ghost; the sign of

Jonah; last state worse than first; great attack on the Pharisees; quotation from the "Wisdom of God"; O Jerusalem, Jerusalem.

Mt. xii. 10a, 11, 22-27, 28-30, 31, 32 38-45,  
 Lk. xiv. 3, 5, xi. 14, 15, 20-23, xii. 10, xi. 16, 29b, 32, 31, 24-26.  
 Mt. xxiii. 13, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29-31, 4, xv. 14, xxiii. 34-36,  
 Lk. xi. 52, 42, —, 39, 40, 47, 48, 46, vi. 39, xi. 49-51,  
 Mt. xxiii. 37-39.  
 Lk. xiii. 34, 35.

CHAPTER 11.—AGALLIASIS—THE CLIMAX. Satan as lightning.  
 No one hath known the Father save the Son; come unto me  
 all ye that labour; the Lord's Prayer.

Mt. — xi. 25-27, 28-30, vi. 9-13.  
 Lk. x. 18-20, 21-22, — xi. 1-4.

CHAPTER 12.—ESCHATOLOGY. Signs of the times; nothing  
 hid that shall not be made known; he that findeth his life  
 shall lose it; as in the days of Noah and of Lot; as a thief  
 in the night; watch; sitting on thrones.

Mt. xvi. 2, 3, x. 26-28, 39, xxiv. 37-41,  
 Lk. xii. 54-56, 2-4, xvii. 33, 26, 27, 34, 35,  
 Mt. —, xxiv. 43-51, xix. 28.  
 Lk. xvii. 28-30, xii. 39, 40, 42-46, xxii. 30.

ENVOY.—THE EAGLES AND THE CARCASE.

Mt. xxiv. 28.  
 Lk. xvii. 37.

## CHAPTER V

### TEXT OF M

*Important Note.*—Whenever M is mentioned in this book, it should be taken to imply “peculiar to Matthew.” We know that Matthew made use of two documents—Mark and Q—and it is possible that he had a third, but whether that be so or not, there can be no doubt that he made use of oral as well as of written sources of information. He has a scheme of his own and he allows himself a certain amount of freedom in his treatment of the sources. For this reason, some of M might be fitly described as editorial comment, and it will therefore be necessary, in this text, occasionally to print *parts* of verses. See also Appendix III.

#### MATTHEW

#### *The Genealogy of Jesus Christ*

##### i. 1-17

The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham.

Abraham begat Isaac; and Isaac begat Jacob; and Jacob begat Judah and his brethren; and Judah begat Perez and Zerah of Tamar; and Perez begat Hezron; and Hezron begat Ram; and Ram begat Amminadab; and Amminadab begat Nahshon; and Nahshon begat Salmon; and Salmon begat Boaz of Rahab; and Boaz begat Obed of Ruth; and Obed begat Jesse; and Jesse begat David the king.

And David begat Solomon of her that had been the wife of Uriah; and Solomon begat Rehoboam; and Rehoboam begat Abijah; and Abijah begat Asa; and Asa begat Jehoshaphat; and Jehoshaphat begat Joram; and Joram begat Uzziah; and Uzziah begat Jotham; and Jotham begat Ahaz; and Ahaz begat Hezekiah;

MATTHEW

i. 1-17

and Hezekiah begat Manasseh; and Manasseh begat Amon; and Amon begat Josiah; and Josiah begat Jechoniah and his brethren, at the time of the carrying away to Babylon.

And after the carrying away to Babylon, Jechoniah begat Shealtiel; and Shealtiel begat Zerubbabel; and Zerubbabel begat Abiud; and Abiud begat Eliakim; and Eliakim begat Azor; and Azor begat Sadoc; and Sadoc begat Achim; and Achim begat Eliud; and Eliud begat Eleazar; and Eleazar begat Matthan; and Matthan begat Jacob; and Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ.

So all the generations from Abraham unto David are fourteen generations; and from David unto the carrying away to Babylon fourteen generations; and from the carrying away to Babylon unto the Christ fourteen generations.

### *The Birth of Jesus*

i. 18-25

Now the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise: When his mother Mary had been betrothed to Joseph, before they came together she was found with child of the Holy Ghost. And Joseph her husband, being a righteous man, and not willing to make her a public example, was minded to put her away privily. But when he thought on these things, behold, an angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, saying, Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife: for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost. And she shall bring forth a son; and thou shalt call his name JESUS; for it is he that (1)

(1) Or, "Holy Spirit" (without the article), and so throughout.



MATTHEW

i. 18-25

shall save his people from their sins. Now all this is come to pass, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet, saying,

BEHOLD, THE VIRGIN SHALL BE WITH  
CHILD, AND SHALL BRING FORTH A SON,  
AND THEY SHALL CALL HIS NAME  
IMMANUEL;

(1)

which is, being interpreted, God with us. And Joseph arose from his sleep, and did as the angel of the Lord commanded him, and took unto him his wife; and knew her not till she had brought forth a son: and he called his name JESUS.

*The Homage of the Wise Men*

ii. 1-12

Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judæa in the days of Herod the king, behold, wise men from the east came to Jerusalem, saying, Where is he that is born King of the Jews? for we saw his star in the east, and are come to worship him. And when Herod the king heard it, he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. And gathering together all the chief priests and scribes of the people, he inquired of them where the Christ should be born. And they said unto him, In Bethlehem of Judæa: for thus it is written by the prophet,

(1) The remarkable thing about this quotation from Isaiah VII. 14 is that, in the Hebrew, the word used means not "virgin" but a "young woman," and presumably referred to some Princess who might be expected shortly to give birth to a King of David's line. For some quite unexplained reason, the LXX uses the word *παρθένος* and it is this Greek translation that is here quoted. These facts go far to prove that birth from a virgin was no part of Jewish Messianic hope. The verse is used in support of a belief presumably held on other grounds.

In Jewish Messianic literature in general there is no suggestion anywhere of a Virgin Birth.

MATTHEW  
ii. 1-12

AND THOU BETHLEHEM, LAND OF JUDAH,  
ART IN NO WISE LEAST AMONG THE  
PRINCES OF JUDAH:  
FOR OUT OF THEE SHALL COME FORTH  
A GOVERNOR,  
WHICH SHALL BE SHEPHERD OF MY  
PEOPLE ISRAEL.

(1)

Then Herod privily called the wise men, and learned of them carefully what time the star appeared. And he sent them to Bethlehem, and said, Go and search out carefully concerning the young child; and when ye have found him, bring me word, that I also may come and worship him. And they, having heard the king, went their way; and lo, the star, which they saw in the east, went before them, till it came and stood over where the young child was. And when they saw the star, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy. And they came into the house and saw the young child with Mary his mother; and they fell down and worshipped him; and opening their treasures they offered unto him gifts, gold and frankincense and myrrh. And being warned of God in a dream that they should not return to Herod, they departed into their own country another way.

*Herod's Massacre of the Innocents*

ii. 13-23

Now when they were departed, behold, an angel of the Lord appeareth to Joseph in a dream, saying, Arise and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt, and be thou there until I tell thee: for Herod will seek the young child to destroy him. And he arose and took the young child and his mother

(1) From Micah V. 2.

MATTHEW

ii. 13-23

by night, and departed into Egypt; and was there until the death of Herod: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet, saying, OUT OF EGYPT DID I CALL MY SON. Then (1)  
 Herod, when he saw that he was mocked of the wise men, was exceeding wroth, and sent forth, and slew all the male children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the borders thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had carefully learned of the wise men. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremiah the prophet, saying,  
 A VOICE WAS HEARD IN RAMAH,  
 WEEPING AND GREAT MOURNING,  
 RACHEL WEEPING FOR HER CHILDREN;  
 AND SHE WOULD NOT BE COMFORTED, (2)  
 BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT.

But when Herod was dead, behold, an angel of the Lord appeareth in a dream to Joseph in Egypt, saying, Arise and take the young child and his mother, and go into the land of Israel: for they are dead that sought the young child's life. And he arose and took the young child and his mother, and came into the land of Israel. But when he heard that Archelaus was reigning over Judæa in the room of his father Herod, he was afraid to go thither; and being warned of God in a dream, he withdrew into the parts of Galilee, and came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, that he should be called a NAZARENE. (3)

(1) Hos. XI. 1 obviously refers to the Exodus.

(2) Jer. XXXI. 15 is referring to the sorrows of the coming captivity, and the following verses are a message of comfort and a promise of restoration.

(3) Nazareth is not mentioned in the Old Testament. The clue to this passage is lost.

MATTHEW

*The Preaching of John the Baptist*

- iii. 2 . . . for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. For (1)  
 this is he that was spoken of by Isaiah the prophet,  
 iii. 3 saying,  
 THE VOICE OF ONE CRYING IN THE WIL- (2)  
 DERNNESS  
 MAKE YE READY THE WAY OF THE LORD,  
 MAKE HIS PATHS STRAIGHT.

*The Baptism of Jesus*

- iii. 14, 15 But John would have hindered him, saying, I have (1)  
 need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?  
 But Jesus answering said unto him, Suffer it now:  
 for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness.  
 Then he suffereth him.  
 iii. 17 This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. (3)

(1) According to Mark, the Baptism of John was "unto remission of sins," but as this did not suit Matthew's scheme of salvation he substituted "Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Then he completed the argument by adding "unto repentance" in III. 11, but found himself in a further difficulty when he came to the Baptism of Jesus, who needed no repentance. Matthew was therefore obliged to add verses 14 and 15.

(2) The quotation from Isaiah (XL. 3-5) is made correct by the omission of Mark's words from Malachi. As (a) Luke also does this; (b) Mark has the singular word "prophet," although quoting from two prophets; (c) Mark apparently ascribes to Isaiah words that come from Malachi; (d) The words from Malachi come again in the Q passage (Luke VII. 27 = Mt. XI. 10), referring also to John the Baptist; it may well be thought that the Malachi prophecy did not stand in the original Mark, but crept in by assimilation to the Q passage.

(3) Instead of Mark's "*Thou* art my beloved . . ." Matthew thus makes the proclamation a public one.

MATTHEW

iv. 13-16

. . . and leaving Nazareth, he came and dwelt in Capernaum, which is by the sea, in the borders of Zebulun and Naphtali: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Isaiah the prophet, saying, (1)

THE LAND OF ZEBULÜN AND THE LAND  
OF NAPHTALI,

TOWARD THE SEA, BEYOND JORDAN,

GALILEE OF THE GENTILES,

THE PEOPLE WHICH SAT IN DARKNESS

SAW A GREAT LIGHT,

AND TO THEM WHICH SAT IN THE REGION (2)

AND SHADOW OF DEATH,

TO THEM DID LIGHT SPRING UP.

iv. 17

From that time began Jesus to preach, and to say, (3)  
Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.

iv. 23-25

And Jesus put . . . healing all manner of disease and all manner of sickness among the people. . . . Syria. And they brought unto him all that were sick, holden with divers diseases and torments, possessed with devils, and epileptic, and palsied; and he healed them. And there followed him great multitudes from Galilee and Decapolis and Jerusalem and Judæa and from beyond Jordan.

(1) Matthew adds these verses as an explanation of the choice of Capernaum, rather than Nazareth, for the headquarters of the Galilean mission.

(2) Isaiah IX. 2.

(3) A Marcan verse from which has been omitted "the time is fulfilled" and "believe the good news." In Matthew's view, it seems that the time was not quite fulfilled. It needed the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

## MATTHEW

*The Sermon on the Mount*

- v. 1, 2      And seeing the multitudes, he went up into the mountain: and when he had sat down, his disciples came unto him; [and he opened his mouth and taught them, saying,]
- v. 5, 7-10      Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.  
                   Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.  
                   Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.  
                   Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called sons of God.
- Blessed are they that have been persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
- 16      Even so let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father (1) which is in heaven.
- 17      Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destroy, but to fulfil.
- 19-20      Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall do and teach them, he shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven. For I say unto you, that except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven.

(1) This is a Matthæan comment on the Q verse, "Neither do men light a lamp . . ." With its emphasis on good works it is entirely in keeping with Matthew's teaching.

MATTHEW

v. 21-24

Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgement: but I say unto you, that every one who is angry with his brother shall be in danger of the judgement; and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council; and whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of the hell of fire. If therefore thou art offering thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.

27, 28

Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt not commit adultery: but I say unto you, that every one that looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.

33-37

Again, ye have heard that it was said to them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths: but I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by the heaven, for it is the throne of God; nor by the earth, for it is the footstool of his feet; nor by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great King. Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, for thou canst not make one hair white or black. But let your speech be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: and whatsoever is more than these is the evil one.

38, 39

Ye have heard that it was said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you, Resist not him that is evil.

41

And whosoever shall compel thee to go one mile, go with him twain.

(1)

(1) "Resist not evil" is probably Q. See p. 50.

## MATTHEW

*Almsgiving, Prayer, Fasting*

vi. 1-8

Take heed that ye do not your righteousness before men, to be seen of them: else ye have no reward with your Father which is in heaven.

When therefore thou doest alms, sound not a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men. Verily I say unto you, They have received their reward. But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth: that thine alms may be in secret: and thy Father which seeth in secret shall recompense thee.

And when ye pray, ye shall not be as the hypocrites: for they love to stand and pray in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men. Verily I say unto you, They have received their reward. But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thine inner chamber, and having shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret, and thy Father which seeth in secret shall recompense thee. And in praying use not vain repetitions, as the Gentiles do: for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking. Be not therefore like unto them: for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask him.

16-18

Moreover when ye fast, be not, as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance: for they disfigure their faces, that they may be seen of men to fast. Verily I say unto you, They have received their reward. But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thy head, and wash thy face; that thou be not seen of men to fast, but of thy Father which is in secret: and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall recompense thee.

vii. 6

Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast your pearls before the swine, lest haply they trample them under their feet, and turn and rend you.



## MATTHEW

*False Men and True*

- vii. 15      Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves.
- 19-21      Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire. Therefore by their fruits ye shall know them. [Not every one that saith (1) unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom] of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven.
- viii. 16, 17      And when even was come, they brought unto him (2) many possessed with devils: and he cast out the spirits with a word, and healed all that were sick: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Isaiah the prophet, saying, Himself took our infirmities, and bare our diseases.
- 18      Now when Jesus saw great multitudes about him, he gave commandment to depart unto the other side.

(1) The words in brackets are based on Q. Matthew again emphasizes the necessity of good works.

(2) Verse 16 is based on Mark I. 32-34, but Matthew omits "and all the city was together at the door" and also "he suffered not the devils to speak, because they knew him," and adds that he cast out spirits "with a word" and healed "all" as opposed to Mark's "many." The reference in verse 17 is to Isaiah LIII. 4, which relates to the Suffering Servant.

MATTHEW

*Two Blind Men Healed*

ix. 27-31

And as Jesus passed by from thence, two blind men followed him, crying out, and saying, Have mercy on us, thou son of David. And when he was come into the house, the blind men came to him: and Jesus saith unto them, Believe ye that I am able to do this? They say unto him, Yea, Lord. Then touched he their eyes, saying, According to your faith be it done unto you. And their eyes were opened. And Jesus strictly charged them, saying, See that no man know it. But they went forth, and spread abroad his fame in all that land. . . . It was never so seen in Israel.

ix. 34b

ix. 35

And Jesus went about all the cities and the villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of disease and all manner of sickness.

(also iv. 23  
and x. 1)

*The Charge to the Twelve*

ix. 36

But when he saw the multitudes, he was moved with compassion for them, because they were distressed and scattered, AS SHEEP NOT HAVING (1)  
A SHEPHERD.

x. 5-8

These twelve Jesus sent forth, and charged them, saying, Go not into any way of the Gentiles, and enter not into any city of the Samaritans: but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. And as ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out demons: freely ye received, freely give.

Matthew has conflated the charge to the Twelve which he found in Mark with a similar charge in Q. The following additional matter occurs in Matthew:—

x. 23

But when they persecute you in this city, flee into the next: for verily I say unto you, Ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel, till the Son of man be come . . .

(1) Num. XXVII. 17, cf. Ezek. XXXIV. 5.

## MATTHEW

x. 25b If they have called the master of the house Beel-  
 26a zebub, how much more shall they call them of his (1)  
 household! Fear them not therefore.

41, 42 He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a  
 prophet shall receive a prophet's reward; and he that  
 receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous  
 man shall receive a righteous man's reward. And  
 whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little  
 ones a cup of cold water only, in the name of a disciple,  
 verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his  
 reward.

xi. 1 And it came to pass, when Jesus had made an end of  
 commanding his twelve disciples, he departed thence  
 to teach and preach in their cities.

*Controversies Respecting the Sabbath*

xii. 5-7 Have ye not read in the law, how that on the (2)  
 sabbath day the priests in the temple profane the  
 sabbath, and are guiltless? But I say unto you, that  
 a greater thing than the temple is here. But if ye had  
 known what this meaneth, I DESIRE MERCY,  
 AND NOT SACRIFICE, ye would not have condemned (3)  
 the guiltless.

(1) A Matthæan addition to the Q passage, "Nor a servant  
 above his lord."

(2) Both Matthew and Luke omit the reference to Abiathar  
 the High Priest in Mk. II. 26. There was no such office in the  
 times of 1 Sam. XXI. 6, nor was Abiathar the name of the priest  
 concerned. It is a mistake in Mark.

(3) Hos. VI. 6.

MATTHEW  
xii. 15b

18-21

[He healed them] all, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Isaiah the prophet, saying,

BEHOLD, MY SERVANT WHOM I HAVE CHOSEN;

MY BELOVED IN WHOM MY SOUL IS WELL PLEASED:

I WILL PUT MY SPIRIT UPON HIM,  
AND HE SHALL DECLARE JUDGEMENT TO THE GENTILES.

HE SHALL NOT STRIVE, NOR CRY ALOUD;  
NEITHER SHALL ANY ONE HEAR HIS VOICE IN THE STREETS.

A BRUISED REED SHALL HE NOT BREAK,  
AND SMOKING FLAX SHALL HE NOT QUENCH,

TILL HE SEND FORTH JUDGEMENT UNTO VICTORY.

AND IN HIS NAME SHALL THE GENTILES HOPE.

(1) Matthew XII. 15 summarises Mark III. 7-11, cutting out so much that he says "he healed them all" (Mark has "many" not "all") without having informed us that any were in need of bodily healing. XII. 16 is Mark III. 12, in which Jesus "charged them much (Matthew omits 'much') that they should not make him known." This reminds Matthew of Isaiah XLII, 1, 2, 3, which he quotes after his usual introductory formula "that it might be fulfilled." (The last line is found in Isaiah XLII. 6, and it is the sense only that is given.) This passage affords a good example of the way in which Matthew uses Mark.

MATTHEW

*The Importance of Words*

(1)

- xii. 33      Either make the tree good, and its fruit good; or  
                  make the tree corrupt, and its fruit corrupt: for the  
                  tree is known by its fruit. Ye offspring of vipers, how  
      34a      can ye, being evil, speak good things? . . . And I  
                  say unto you, that every idle word that men shall  
      36      speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of  
                  judgment. For by thy words thou shalt be justified,  
                  and by thy words thou shalt be condemned.

*The Parable of the Wheat and Tares*

- xiii. 24-30      Another parable set he before them, saying, The  
                  kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man that sowed  
                  good seed in his field: but while men slept, his enemy  
                  came and sowed tares also among the wheat, and went  
                  away. But when the blade sprang up, and brought  
                  forth fruit, then appeared the tares also. And the  
                  servants of the householder came and said unto him,  
                  Sir, didst thou not sow good seed in thy field? whence  
                  then hath it tares? And he said unto them, An enemy  
                  hath done this. And the servants say unto him, Wilt  
                  thou then that we go and gather them up? But he  
                  saith, Nay; lest haply while ye gather up the tares,  
                  ye root up the wheat with them. Let both grow  
                  together until the harvest: and in the time of the  
                  harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather up first the  
                  tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them: but  
                  gather the wheat into my barn.

(1) These words surround a Q passage indicated by dots.  
 Moreover, "ye offspring of vipers" and "I say unto you" may  
 have been borrowed from Q.

## MATTHEW

*Explanation of the Wheat and Tares*

xiii. 34, 35 All these things spake Jesus in parables unto the multitudes that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, I WILL OPEN MY MOUTH IN PARABLES; I WILL UTTER THINGS HIDDEN FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE WORLD. (1)

36-43 Then he left the multitudes, and went into the house: and his disciples came unto him, saying, Explain unto us the parable of the tares of the field. And he answered and said, He that soweth the good seed is the Son of man; and the field is the world; and the good seed, these are the sons of the kingdom; and the tares are the sons of the evil one; and the enemy that sowed them is the devil: and the harvest is the end of the world; and the reapers are angels. As therefore the tares are gathered up and burned with fire; so shall it be in the end of the world. The Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that cause stumbling, and them that do iniquity, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth. Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father. He that hath ears, let him hear. (2) (3)

(1) Psalm LXXVIII. 2, which Matthew attributes to a "prophet."

(2) . . . "the end of the age" (and so throughout) is a better translation.

(3) "the weeping . . ." is a typically Q phrase. This may be a Q parable, altered to suit Matthew's purposes, or Matthew may simply have borrowed the phrase from Q. The interpretation of the parable is M.

## MATTHEW

*The parables of the Hidden Treasure, the Pearl of Great Price, the Drag-net and the Householder*

xiii. 44-52      The kingdom of heaven is like unto a treasure hidden in the field; which a man found, and hid; and in his joy he goeth and selleth all that he hath, and buyeth that field.

Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is a merchant seeking goodly pearls: and having found one pearl of great price, he went and sold all that he had, and bought it.

Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a net, that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind: which, when it was filled, they drew up on the beach; and they sat down, and gathered the good into vessels, but the bad they cast away. So shall it be in the end of the world: the angels shall come forth, and sever the wicked from among the righteous, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth. (3)

Have ye understood all these things? They say unto him, Yea. And he said unto them, Therefore every scribe who hath been made a disciple to the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is a house-holder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old.

*Peter Walking on the Water*

xiv. 28-33      And Peter answered him and said, Lord, if it be thou, bid me come unto thee upon the waters. And he said, Come. And Peter went down from the boat, and walked upon the waters, to come to Jesus. But when he saw the wind, he was afraid; and beginning to sink, he cried out, saying, Lord, save me. And immediately Jesus stretched forth his hand, and took

MATTHEW

xiv. 28-33

hold of him, and saith unto him, O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt? And when they were gone up into the boat, the wind ceased. And they that were in the boat worshipped him, saying, Of a truth thou art the Son of God. (1)

*The Canaanitish Woman*

xv. 22-28

And behold, a Canaanitish woman came out from those borders, and cried, saying, Have mercy on me, O Lord, thou son of David; my daughter is grievously vexed with a devil. But he answered her not a word. And his disciples came and besought him, saying, Send her away; for she crieth after us. But he answered and said, I was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel. But she came and worshipped him, saying, Lord, help me. And he answered and said, It is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs. But she said, Yea, Lord: for even the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their masters' table. Then Jesus answered and said unto her, O woman, great is thy faith: be it done unto thee even as thou wilt. And her daughter was healed from that hour. (2)

(1) Verse 33 takes the place of Mark VI. 51-52, "they were sore amazed in themselves; for they understood not concerning the loaves, but their heart was hardened."

(2) Based on Mark VII. (24-30) but considerably edited.



## MATTHEW

*The Multitudes*

- xv. 29-31      And Jesus departed thence, and came nigh unto the sea of Galilee; and he went up into the mountain, and sat there. And there came unto him great multitudes, having with them the lame, blind, dumb, maimed, and many others, and they cast them down at his feet; and he healed them: insomuch that the multitude wondered, when they saw the dumb speaking, the maimed whole, and the lame walking, and the blind seeing: (1) and they glorified the God of Israel.

*Jesus warns his disciples against literal interpretations.*

- xvi. 11, 12      How is it that ye do not perceive that I spake not to you concerning bread? But beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees. Then understood they (2) how that he bade them not beware of the leaven of bread, but of the teaching of the Pharisees and Sadducees.

*Peter the Church's Rock*

- xvi. 16-19      [Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ] the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered (3) and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I also say unto

(1) Based on Mark (VII. 37) but considerably edited and given an anti-Gentile turn.

(2) Matthew adds this to the Marcan story of the obtuseness of the disciples in taking literally the words of Jesus about the loaves and fishes (Mark VIII. 14-21).

(3) Words in brackets from Mark.

MATTHEW

xvi. 16-19    thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will (1)  
 build my church; and the gates of Hades shall not  
 prevail against it. I will give unto thee the keys of  
 the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt  
 bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatso-  
 ever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.

*The Temple-Tribute*

xvii. 24-27    And when they were come to Capernaum, they that (2)  
 received the half-shekel came to Peter, and said, Doth  
 not your master pay the half-shekel? He saith, Yea.  
 And when he came into the house, Jesus spake first  
 to him, saying, What thinkest thou, Simon? the kings  
 of the earth, from whom do they receive toll or tribute?  
 from their sons, or from strangers? And when he said,  
 From strangers, Jesus said unto him, Therefore the  
 sons are free. But, lest we cause them to stumble, go  
 thou to the sea, and cast a hook, and take up the fish  
 that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his  
 mouth, thou shalt find a shekel: that take, and give  
 unto them for me and thee.

(1) This addition to the answer of Jesus is only in M. and is all the more remarkable because it is immediately followed by the terrible rebuke, "Get thee behind me, Satan." In XVI. 22, Matthew adds Peter's words "saying be it far from thee, Lord: this shall never be unto thee." Also to the reply of Jesus, "thou art a stumbling block unto me" (v. 23).

(2) There is no need to read a miracle into this story; the text does not state that the shekel was actually found in the fish's mouth and the words of Jesus, if they were ever spoken, might merely have referred to Peter's trade of fisherman. Such notes of humour are not unknown with Jesus. The question of what actually happened, however, does not arise. The story is plainly midrash. See p. 207.

## MATTHEW

*Lessons of Humility*

- xviii. 1-5      In that hour came the disciples unto Jesus, saying, (1)  
 Who then is greatest in the kingdom of heaven? And he called to him a little child, and set him in the midst of them, and said, Verily I say unto you, Except ye turn, and become as little children, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven. And whoso shall receive one such little child in my name receiveth me.

*The Authority of the Church*

- xviii. 15-20      And, if thy brother sin against thee, go, shew him his fault between thee and him alone: if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he hear thee not, take with thee one or two more, that AT THE MOUTH OF TWO WITNESSES OR THREE EVERY WORD MAY BE ESTABLISHED. (2)  
 And if he refuse to hear them, tell it unto the church: and if he refuse to hear the church also, let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican. Verily I say unto you, What things soever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and what things soever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Again I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them. (3)

(1) This is probably based on a Q passage. See. p. 74.

(2) Deut. XIX. 15.

(3) The Greek word for Church is *ἐκκλησία*, which means "assembly of the people." Everything in this passage points to a late date and is typically and peculiarly Matthæan. See also p. 207.

MATTHEW

*Parable of the Unmerciful Servant*

xviii. 21-35 Then came Peter, and said to him, Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? (1) until seven times? Jesus saith unto him, I say not unto thee, Until seven times; but, Until seventy times seven. Therefore is the kingdom of heaven likened unto a certain king, which would make a reckoning with his servants. And when he had begun to reckon, one was brought unto him, which owed him ten thousand talents. But forasmuch as he had not wherewith to pay, his lord commanded him to be sold, and his wife, and children, and all that he had, and payment to be made. The servant therefore fell down and worshipped him, saying, Lord, have patience with me, and I will pay thee all. And the lord of that servant, being moved with compassion, released him, and forgave him the debt. But that servant went out, and found one of his fellow-servants, which owed him a hundred pence: and he laid hold on him, and took him by the throat, saying, Pay what thou owest. So his fellow-servant fell down and besought him, saying, Have patience with me, and I will pay thee. And he would not: but went and cast him into prison, till he should pay that which was due. So when his fellow-servants saw what was done, they were exceeding sorry, and came and told unto their lord all that was done. Then his lord called him unto him, and saith to him, Thou wicked servant, I forgave thee all that debt, because thou besoughtest me: shouldst not thou also have had mercy on thy fellow-servant, even as I had mercy on thee? And his lord was wroth, and delivered him to the tormentors, till he should pay all that was due. So shall also my heavenly Father do unto you, if ye forgive not every one his brother from your hearts.

(1) The first verse is from Q but, as so often in Matthew, Peter is made the spokesman.

## MATTHEW

*Teaching on Divorce, Marriage, and Celibacy*

- xix. 10-12     The disciples say unto him, If the case of the man (1)  
                   is so with his wife, it is not expedient to marry. But  
                   he said unto them, All men cannot receive this saying,  
                   but they to whom it is given. For there are eunuchs,  
                   which were so born from their mother's womb: and  
                   there are eunuchs, which were made eunuchs by men:  
                   and there are eunuchs, which made themselves eunuchs  
                   for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to  
                   receive it, let him receive it.
- xix. 17        Why askest thou me concerning that which is good?  
                   One there is who is good: but if thou wouldest enter  
                   into life keep . . . (2)
- 21              . . . if thou wouldest be perfect . . . (3)

(1) This is a Matthæan addition to a passage (Mt. XIX. 3-9) taken from Mark X. 2-12. There are two changes (in sense) from the Marcan account as well as this addendum. (1) In Mark the question put by the Pharisees to Jesus is, "Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife?" Matthew adds "for every cause," thus bringing the question into line with a controversy then raging between rival schools of Rabbinic teaching. One school would have allowed divorce for any cause, however trivial, and the other school opposed any such licence. (2) In Mark the prohibition of divorce is more absolute than in Matthew, who allows it on the ground of fornication.

(2) Instead of Mark X. 18, "Why callest thou me good? . . ."

(3) An addition to Mark X. 21, And Jesus's loving look is omitted.

MATTHEW

*The Labourers in the Vineyard*

xix. 28  
to  
xx. 16

And Jesus said unto them, Verily, I say unto you, that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory [ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.]. And every one that hath left houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive a hundredfold, and shall inherit eternal life. But many shall be last that are first; and first that are last. For the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is a householder, which went out early in the morning to hire labourers into his vineyard. And when he had agreed with the labourers for a penny a day, he sent them into his vineyard. And he went out about the third hour, and saw others standing in the market-place idle; and to them he said, Go ye also into the vineyard, and whatsoever is right I will give you. And they went their way. Again he went out about the sixth and the ninth hour, and did likewise. And about the eleventh hour he went out, and found others standing; and he saith unto them, Why stand ye here all the day idle? They say unto him, Because no man hath hired us. He saith unto them, Go ye also into the vineyard. And when even was come, the lord of the vineyard saith unto his steward, Call the labourers, and pay them their hire, beginning from the last unto the first. And when they came that were hired about the eleventh hour, they received every man a penny. And when the first came, they supposed that they would receive more; and they likewise received every man a

(1) The twelve thrones are in Q, but they have here lost the note of humility and service implied by the Q context. See. p. 95.

(2) "The last shall be first . . ." is Q.

## MATTHEW

- xix. 28 penny. And when they received it, they murmured  
 to against the householder, saying, These last have spent  
 xx. 16 but one hour, and thou hast made them equal to us,  
 which have borne the burden of the day and the  
 scorching heat. But he answered and said to one of  
 them, Friend, I do thee no wrong: didst not thou agree  
 with me for a penny? Take up that which is thine,  
 and go thy way; it is my will to give unto this last,  
 even as unto thee. Is it not lawful for me to do what  
 I will with mine own? or is thine eye evil, because I am  
 good? So the last shall be first, and the first last.

*The Great Entry into Jerusalem*

- xxi. 4, 5 Now this is come to pass, that it might be fulfilled  
 which was spoken by the prophet, saying,  
 TELL YE THE DAUGHTER OF ZION, (1)  
 BEHOLD, THY KING COMETH UNTO THEE,  
 MEEK, AND RIDING UPON AN ASS,  
 AND UPON A COLT THE FOAL OF AN ASS.  
 iob, 11 All the city was stirred, saying, Who is this? And  
 the multitudes said, This is the prophet, Jesus, from  
 Nazareth of Galilee.  
 And the blind and the lame came to him in the  
 temple: and he healed them. But when the chief  
 14-16 priests and the scribes saw the wonderful things that  
 he did, and the children that were crying in the temple  
 and saying, Hosanna to the son of David; they were  
 moved with indignation, and said unto him, Hearest  
 thou what these are saying? And Jesus saith unto  
 them, Yea: did ye never read, "Out of the mouth of  
 babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise?"  
 (Ps. VIII. 2).

(1) The first line is Is. LXII. 11; the remainder is Zech. IX. 9.  
 Matthew is so anxious for literal fulfilment that he insists  
 throughout his account of the "Great Entry" in altering Mark's  
*one* animal into two, the "ass" and the "colt the foal of an ass."

## MATTHEW

*Three Parables of the Rejection of Israel—the Two Sons,  
the Marriage Feast and the Wedding Garment*

xxi. 28 But what think ye? A man had two sons; and he  
to came to the first, and said, Son, go work to-day in the  
32 vineyard. And he answered and said, I will not: but  
afterward he repented himself, and went. And he  
came to the second, and said likewise. And he  
answered and said, I go, sir: and went not. Whether  
of the twain did the will of his father? They say,  
The first. Jesus saith unto them, Verily I say unto  
you, that the publicans and the harlots go into the  
kingdom of God before you. For John came unto you  
in the way of righteousness, and ye believed him not:  
but the publicans and the harlots believed him: and  
ye, when ye saw it, did not even repent yourselves  
afterward, that ye might believe him.

43 Therefore say I unto you, The kingdom of God shall  
be taken away from you, and shall be given to a nation  
bringing forth the fruits thereof.

xxii. 1-14 And Jesus answered and spake again in parables  
unto them, saying, The kingdom of heaven is likened  
unto a certain king which made a marriage feast for  
his son, and sent forth his servants to call them that  
were bidden to the marriage feast: and they would not  
come. Again he sent forth other servants, saying, Tell  
them that are bidden, Behold, I have made ready my  
dinner: my oxen and my fatlings are killed, and all  
things are ready: come to the marriage feast. But  
they made light of it, and went their ways, one to his  
own farm, another to his merchandise: and the rest  
laid hold on his servants, and entreated them shame-  
fully, and killed them. But the king was wroth; and  
he sent his armies, and destroyed those murderers, (1)  
and burned their city. Then saith he to his servants,

(1) Matthew is here amplifying the original parable and  
perhaps pointing the moral of the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D.



## MATTHEW

xxii. 1-14

The wedding is ready, but they that were bidden were not worthy. Go ye therefore unto the partings of the highways, and as many as ye shall find, bid to the marriage feast. And those servants went out into the highways, and gathered together all as many as they found, both bad and good: and the wedding was filled with guests. But when the king came in to behold the guests, he saw there a man which had not on a wedding garment; and he saith unto him, Friend, how camest thou in hither not having a wedding-garment? And he was speechless. Then the king said to the servants, Bind him hand and foot, and cast him out into the outer darkness; there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth. For many are called, but few chosen. (1)

*The Denunciation of the Scribes and Pharisees*

xxiii. 1-3

Then spake Jesus to the multitudes and to his disciples, saying, The scribes and the Pharisees sit on Moses' seat: all things therefore whatsoever they bid you, these do and observe: but do not ye after their works; for they say, and do not. But all their works they do for to be seen of men: for they make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the borders of their garments, and love to be called of men, Rabbi. But be not ye called Rabbi: for one is your teacher, and all ye are brethren. And call no man your father on the earth: for one is your Father, which is in heaven. Neither be ye called masters: for one is your master, even the Christ.

(1) The "wedding-garment" incident clearly once formed a separate parable and there are indications (e.g. the weeping and the gnashing) that it stood in Q. Matthew uses it here in a way that would appeal to any Jewish reader who would understand that the wedding garment meant the *good works* required of those who enter into the Church of Christ.

MATTHEW

xxiii. 15-22

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is become so, ye make him twofold more a son of hell than yourselves.

Woe unto you, ye blind guides, which say, Whosoever shall swear by the temple, it is nothing; but whosoever shall swear by the gold of the temple, he is a debtor. Ye fools and blind: for whether is greater, the gold, or the temple that hath sanctified the gold? And, Whosoever shall swear by the altar, it is nothing; but whosoever shall swear by the gift that is upon it, he is a debtor. Ye blind: for whether is greater, the gift, or the altar that sanctifieth the gift? He therefore that sweareth by the altar, sweareth by it, and by all things thereon. And he that sweareth by the temple, sweareth by it, and by him that dwelleth therein. And he that sweareth by the heaven, sweareth by the throne of God, and by him that sitteth thereon.

27-28

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which outwardly appear beautiful, but inwardly are full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness. Even so ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but inwardly ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity. (1)

*The Prophecy of the End*

(2)

xxiv. 10-12

And then SHALL MANY STUMBLE, and shall deliver up one another, and shall hate one another. And many false prophets shall arise, and shall lead many astray. And because iniquity shall be multiplied, the love of the many shall wax cold. (3)

(1) Probably based on Q, but much changed.

(2) Matthew follows Mark XIII. closely except that he omits the final command to the porter to watch and inserts these few additions.

(3) Dan. XI. 19 (LXX.).

MATTHEW

xxiv. 26

If therefore they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the wilderness; go not forth: behold, he is in the inner chambers; believe it not.

30

. . . and then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn.

*The parable of the Ten Virgins*

xxv. 1-13

Then shall the kingdom of heaven be likened unto ten virgins, which took their lamps, and went forth to meet the bridegroom. And five of them were foolish, and five were wise. For the foolish, when they took their lamps, took no oil with them: but the wise took oil in their vessels with their lamps. Now while the bridegroom tarried, they all slumbered and slept. But at midnight there is a cry, Behold, the bridegroom! Come ye forth to meet him. Then all those virgins arose, and trimmed their lamps. And the foolish said unto the wise, Give us of your oil; for our lamps are going out. But the wise answered, saying, Peradventure there will not be enough for us and you: go ye rather to them that sell, and buy for yourselves. And while they went away to buy, the bridegroom came; and they that were ready went in with him to the marriage feast: and the door was shut. Afterward came also the other virgins, saying, Lord, Lord, open to us. But he answered and said, Verily I say unto you, I know you not. Watch therefore, for ye know not the day nor the hour.

*The parable of the Talents*

xxv. 14-30

For it is as when a man, going into another country, (1)  
called his own servants, and delivered unto them his goods. And unto one he gave five talents, to another

MATTHEW

XXV. 14-30 two, to another one; to each according to his several ability; and he went on his journey. Straightway he that received the five talents went and traded with them, and made other five talents. In like manner he also that received the two gained other two. But he that received the one went away and digged in the earth, and hid his lord's money. Now after a long time the lord of those servants cometh, and maketh a reckoning with them. And he that received the five talents came and brought other five talents, saying, Lord, thou deliveredest unto me five talents: lo, I have gained other five talents. His lord said unto him, Well done, good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy lord. And he also that received the two talents came and said, Lord, thou deliveredest unto me two talents: lo, I have gained other two talents. His lord said unto him, Well done, good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy lord. And he also that had received the one talent came and said, Lord, I knew thee that thou art a hard man, reaping where thou didst not sow, and gathering where thou didst not scatter: and I was afraid, and went away and hid thy talent in the earth: lo, thou hast thine own. But his lord answered and said unto him, Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou knewest that I reap

(1) The parable of the Talents, in some form or other, must have been in Q, but Luke has combined it with a reference to the journey of Archelaus to receive his kingdom at the hands of the Romans, and Matthew also has made such changes that we cannot recover the original text of Q. The weeping and the gnashing of teeth is, as usual, a hint that Q is somewhere in the background. Moreover, "unto every one that hath shall be given . . ." is Q.

MATTHEW

xxv. 14-30 where I sowed not, and gather where I did not scatter; thou oughtest therefore to have put my money to the bankers, and at my coming I should have received back mine own with interest. Take ye away therefore the talent from him, and give it unto him that hath the ten talents. For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken away. And cast ye out the unprofitable servant into the outer darkness: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth.

*The parable of the Sheep and Goats*

xxv. 31-46 But when the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the angels with him, then shall he sit on the throne of his glory: and before him shall be gathered all the nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats: and he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left. Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, and fed thee? or athirst, and gave thee drink? And when saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked, and clothed thee? And when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee? And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily, I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these my brethren, even these least, ye did it unto me. Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, Depart

## MATTHEW

xxv. 31-46 from me, ye cursed, into the eternal fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels: for I was an hungred, and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not; sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not. Then shall they also answer, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee? Then shall he answer them, saying, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of these least, ye did it not unto me. And these shall go away into eternal punishment: but the righteous into eternal life.

*The Passion Story*

Matthew adds the following to the account of Holy Week:

xxvi. 25 And Judas, which betrayed him, answered and said, Is it I, Rabbi? He saith unto him, Thou hast said.

28 unto remission of sins.

xxvi. 52-54 Then saith Jesus unto him [Peter], Put up again thy sword into its place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword. Or thinkest thou that I cannot beseech my Father, and he shall even now send me more than twelve legions of angels? How then should the scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be?

63 [The high priest said unto him,] I adjure thee by the living God, that thou [tell us whether thou be the Christ,] the Son of God.

68 Prophecy unto us, thou Christ: who is he that struck thee?

73 . . . thy speech bewrayeth thee.

xxvii. 3-10 Then Judas, which betrayed him, when he saw that he was condemned, repented himself, and brought back the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders, saying, I have sinned in that I betrayed

MATTHEW

xxvii. 3-10 innocent blood. But they said, What is that to us? see thou to it. And he cast down the pieces of silver into the sanctuary, and departed; and he went away and hanged himself. And the chief priests took the pieces of silver, and said, It is not lawful to put them into the treasury, since it is the price of blood. And they took counsel, and bought with them the potter's field, to bury strangers in. Wherefore that field was called, The field of blood, unto this day. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremiah the prophet, saying, And they **TOOK THE THIRTY PIECES OF SILVER, THE PRICE** of him that was priced, (1) whom certain of the children of Israel did price; and they gave them for the **POTTER'S** field, as the Lord appointed me.

*Pilate's Wife's Dream*

xxvii. 19 And while he [Pilate] was sitting on the judgment-seat, his wife sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that righteous man: for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him.

*The Handwashing*

24,25 So when Pilate saw that he prevailed nothing, but rather that a tumult was arising, he took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this righteous man: see ye to it. And all the people answered and said, His blood be on us, and on our children.

(1) The quotation is not from Jeremiah. The words occur in Zech. XI. 12, 13, but they have no reference to any future events. A different account of the end of Judas is given in Acts I. 18-20.

MATTHEW

- xxvii. 36 . . . and they sat and watched him there.  
 40 . . . if thou art the Son of God.  
 43 He trusteth on God; let him deliver him now, if he  
 desireth him: for he said, I am the Son of God.

*The Earthquake*

- 51-53 . . . and the earth did quake; and the rocks were (1)  
 rent; and the tombs were opened; and many bodies of  
 the saints that had fallen asleep were raised; and  
 coming forth out of the tombs after his resurrection  
 they entered into the holy city and appeared unto  
 many.

*The Guard*

- xxvii. 62-66 Now on the morrow, which is the day after the  
 Preparation, the chief priests and the Pharisees were  
 gathered together unto Pilate, saying, Sir, we re-  
 member that that deceiver said, while he was yet  
 alive, After three days I rise again. Command there-  
 fore that the sepulchre be made sure until the third  
 day, lest haply his disciples come and steal him away,  
 and say unto the people, He is risen from the dead:  
 and the last error will be worse than the first. Pilate  
 said unto them, Ye have a guard: go your way, make  
 it as sure as ye can. So they went, and made the  
 sepulchre sure, sealing the stone, the guard being  
 with them.

(1) Matthew also calls the storm on the Lake of Galilee an  
 "earthquake." The "angel of the Lord" takes the place, in  
 Matthew, of Mark's "young man" (*νεανίσκος*).



MATTHEW

*The Resurrection: The Earthquake*

- xxviii. 2-4 And behold, there was a great earthquake; for an angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled away the stone, and sat upon it. His appearance was as lightning, and his raiment white as snow: and for fear of him the watchers did quake, and became as dead men. (1)

*Appearance to the Women*

- xxviii. 8-10 And [the women] departed quickly from the tomb with fear and great joy, and ran to bring his disciples word. And behold, Jesus met them, saying, All hail. And they came and took hold of his feet, and worshipped him. Then saith Jesus unto them, Fear not: go tell my brethren that they depart into Galilee, and there shall they see me. (2) (3)

*The Bribing of the Watch*

- xxviii. 11-15 Now while they were going, behold, some of the guard came into the city, and told unto the chief priests all the things that were come to pass. And when they were assembled with the elders, and had taken counsel, they gave large money unto the soldiers, saying, Say ye, His disciples came by night, and stole him away while we slept. And if this come to the governor's ears, we will persuade him, and rid you of care. So they took the money, and did as they were taught: and this saying was spread abroad among the Jews, and continueth until this day. (3)

(1) See page 133.

(2) Mark only mentions the fear of the women and he also says that it prevented them from making a report to the disciples, as they had been bidden to do.

(3) Nothing similar to Matthew XXVIII. 9-20 is found in the other Gospels, but Cf. 1 Cor. XV.

*The Great Commission*

xxviii. 16-20 But the eleven disciples went into Galilee, unto the (3)  
 mountain where Jesus had appointed them. And when  
 they saw him, they worshipped him: but some doubted.  
 And Jesus came to them and spake unto them, saying,  
 All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and  
 on earth. Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all  
 the nations, baptizing them into the name of the  
 Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost: teaching (1)  
 them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded  
 you: and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end  
 of the world.

(1) Baptism into the name of the Trinity could hardly have been a direct injunction of Jesus. It was a practice that grew up gradually in the early years of the Church. This passage is one of many in Matthew which indicate a late date for the book.

## MATTHEW'S CHANGES IN THE TEXT OF Q

If the text of Q given in Chapter IV is correct (see the introduction to that chapter), Matthew has made the following interesting changes in it:—

CHAPTER 1.—Matthew makes “offspring of vipers” refer to the Pharisees and Sadducees.

CHAPTER 2.—Matthew completes the quotation from Deut. VIII. 3, and he substitutes “the holy city” for “Jerusalem.”

CHAPTER 3.—“And thirst after righteousness” is added. “Righteousness” is a favourite word of Matthew. He also adds “for my sake” after “say all manner of evil against you falsely.” “And sendeth rain on the just and the unjust” is not in Luke (but may have been in Q). Probably “Gentiles” have taken the place of “sinners,” and almost certainly “perfect” (in Mt. V. 48) should be “merciful” (Lk.), which the sense demands.

CHAPTER 4.—A miracle is added to Q’s story.

CHAPTER 6.—There seems no evidence in Q for the “scribe” to whom the story is attached, nor “another of the disciples” in the succeeding passage. Matthew’s attitude towards the scribes is peculiar; scribes are not mentioned in Q except in the “Wisdom” quotation in Chapter 10.

x. 25b is an addition, see p. 112.

Twice “before my Father which is in Heaven” (another favourite phrase of Matthew) is added to the confession of the Son of man.

He (Mt. X. 36) continues a quotation from Micah and thus adds words not quite so appropriate as those used by Q.

CHAPTER 7.—The simple dignity of Q’s . . . “your Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye his kingdom, and all these things shall be added unto you,” is not enhanced by the additions “heavenly” to “Father,” “first” to “seek ye,” “and his righteousness” to “kingdom.” Nor is the sense improved.

CHAPTER 8.—Matthew removes Q's ending to the Parable of the Lost Sheep, "There shall be joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth . . ." and inserts "even so, it is not the will of your Father which is in Heaven that one of these little ones should perish" (XVIII. 14). Matthew here, as elsewhere, avoids the suggestion that mere repentance is sufficient to secure the forgiveness of the Father. He emphasises the share of God himself in the work of redemption and, while admitting man's repentance as a necessary condition for forgiveness, seems always to doubt its sufficiency. Matthew makes a similar change in the text of Mark when he removes "unto remission of sins" from the preaching of John the Baptist and connects the words with the death of Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER 9.—"Prophets and kings" is turned into "prophets and righteous men."

CHAPTER 10.—Mt. (XII. 32) adds to the Q words about the unforgivable sin that forgiveness can be granted "neither in this world nor in that which is to come."

Matthew's explanation of the sign of Jonah as a reference to the three days in the tomb is not Q. Matthew adds at the end of the Unclean Spirit passage "even so shall it be also unto this evil generation."

In the woes to the Pharisees, Matthew four times inserts "scribes," even though it makes the following "Wisdom" quotation from Q almost unintelligible.

Matthew adds "faith" to "judgment and mercy" as weightier than the ceremonial law.

## CHAPTER VI

### TEXT OF L

*Important Note.*—Whenever L is used in this book, it must be taken to mean simply “peculiar to Luke.” It is that part of our third Gospel which is not derived from either Mark or Q. No inference must be drawn as to the extent of any written source embodied in L.

The Gospel according to Luke falls into three divisions. In the first, Lk. I. 1—IX. 50, the final work might easily be constructed out of L., Mk. and Q by scissors and paste methods, and it may be that this part of L. was actually a written document, like Mk. and Q, in the hands of Luke. In the second, IX. 51—XIX. 28, Luke has placed many of the most notable parables along with some important matter from Q in a loosely connected travel story (still based on Mk.’s narrative) as if everything related had occurred on the way up to Jerusalem. For the third section, XIX. 29—end (the Passion story) it is best to assume that the author resorted to free composition, based partly on Mk. and partly on other sources of information.

Certain short passages not conveniently shewn in this chapter will be found in Appendix IV.

## TEXT OF L

*Preface*LUKE  
i. 1-4

Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word, it seemed good to me also, having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus; that thou mightest know the certainty concerning the things wherein thou wast instructed.

*The Birth of John the Baptist foretold*

i. 5-25

There was in the days of Herod, king of Judæa, a certain priest named Zacharias, of the course of Abijah: and he had a wife of the daughters of Aaron, and her name was Elisabeth. And they were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless. And they had no child, because that Elisabeth was barren, and they both were now well stricken in years.

Now it came to pass, while he executed the priest's office before God in the order of his course, according to the custom of the priest's office, his lot was to enter into the temple of the Lord and burn incense. And the whole multitude of the people were praying without at the hour of incense. And there appeared unto him an angel of the Lord standing on the right side of the altar of incense. And Zacharias was troubled when he saw him, and fear fell upon him. But the angel said unto him, Fear not, Zacharias: because thy supplication is heard, and thy wife Elisabeth shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name John. And thou shalt

have joy and gladness; and many shall rejoice at his birth. For he shall be great in the sight of the Lord, and HE SHALL DRINK NO WINE NOR STRONG DRINK; and he shall be filled with the Holy Ghost, even from his mother's womb. And many of the children of Israel shall he turn unto the Lord their God. And he shall go before his face in the spirit and power of ELIJAH, TO TURN THE HEARTS OF THE FATHERS TO THE CHILDREN, and the disobedient to walk in the wisdom of the just; to make ready for the Lord a people prepared for him. And Zacharias said unto the angel, Whereby shall I know this? for I am an old man, and my wife well stricken in years. And the angel answering said unto him, I am Gabriel, that stand in the presence of God; and I was sent to speak unto thee, and to bring thee these good tidings. And behold, thou shalt be silent and not able to speak, until the day that these things shall come to pass, because thou believedst not my words, which shall be fulfilled in their season. And the people were waiting for Zacharias, and they marvelled while he tarried in the temple. And when he came out, he could not speak unto them: and they perceived that he had seen a vision in the temple: and he continued making signs unto them, and remained dumb. And it came to pass, when the days of his ministration were fulfilled, he departed unto his house.

And after these days Elisabeth his wife conceived; and she hid herself five months, saying, Thus hath the Lord done unto me in the days wherein he looked upon me, to take away my reproach among men.

(1) Num. VI. 3.

(2) Or Holy Spirit (without the article) and so throughout. The word *πνεῦμα* (Spirit) is a favourite with Luke.

(3) Mal. IV. 5, 6.

*The Annunciation*

LUKE

i. 26-38

Now in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth, to a virgin betrothed to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David; and the virgin's name was Mary. And he came in unto her, and said, Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee. But she was greatly troubled at the saying, and cast in her mind what manner of salutation this might be. And the angel said unto her, Fear not, Mary: for thou hast found favour with God. And behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name JESUS. He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Most High: and the Lord God shall give unto him THE THRONE of his father DAVID: AND HE SHALL REIGN over the house of Jacob (1) FOR EVER; and of his kingdom there shall be no end. And Mary said unto the angel, How shall this be, seeing I know not a man? And the angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee: wherefore also that which is to be born shall be called holy, the Son of God. And behold, Elisabeth thy kinswoman, she also hath conceived a son in her old age: and this is the sixth month with her that was called barren. FOR NO WORD FROM GOD (2) SHALL BE VOID OF POWER. And Mary said, Behold, the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word. And the angel departed from her.

(1) Isaiah IX. 7.

(2) Gen. XVIII. 14.



*The Visitation*

LUKE

i. 39-56

And Mary arose in these days and went into the hill country with haste, into a city of Judah; and entered into the house of Zacharias and saluted Elisabeth. And it came to pass, when Elisabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb; and Elisabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost; and she lifted up her voice with a loud cry, and said, Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb. And whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come unto me? For behold, when the voice of thy salutation came into mine ears, the babe leaped in my womb for joy. And blessed is she that believed; for there shall be a fulfilment of the things which have been spoken to her from the Lord. And Mary said,

MY SOUL doth magnify THE LORD. (1)

And my spirit hath REJOICED IN GOD MY SAVIOUR.

For HE HATH LOOKED UPON THE LOW ESTATE OF HIS HANDMAIDEN:

For behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed.

For he that is mighty hath done to me great things; And HOLY IS HIS NAME.

And HIS MERCY IS UNTO GENERATIONS AND GENERATIONS

ON THEM THAT FEAR HIM.

He hath shewed strength with his arm;

HE HATH SCATTERED THE PROUD in the imagination of their heart.

HE HATH PUT DOWN PRINCES from their thrones,

(1) This song is full of the phraseology of the Septuagint (Greek translation of the Old Testament).

And HATH EXALTED THEM OF LOW DEGREE.  
The HUNGRY HE HATH FILLED WITH GOOD  
THINGS;

And THE RICH HE HATH SENT EMPTY AWAY.  
HE HATH HOLPEN ISRAEL HIS SERVANT,  
THAT HE MIGHT REMEMBER MERCY  
(As he spake UNTO OUR FATHERS)

i. 39-56

TOWARD ABRAHAM AND HIS SEED for ever.

And Mary abode with her about three months, and  
returned unto her house.

### *The Birth of John the Baptist*

Now Elisabeth's time was fulfilled that she should be delivered; and she brought forth a son. And her neighbours and her kinsfolk heard that the Lord had magnified his mercy towards her; and they rejoiced with her. And it came to pass on the eighth day, that they came to circumcise the child; and they would have called him Zacharias, after the name of his father. And his mother answered and said, Not so; but he shall be called John. And they said unto her, There is none of thy kindred that is called by this name. And they made signs to his father, what he would have him called. And he asked for a writing tablet, and wrote, saying, His name is John. And they marvelled all. And his mouth was opened immediately, and his tongue loosed, and he spake, blessing God. And fear came on all that dwelt round about them: and all these sayings were noised abroad throughout all the hill country of Judæa. And all that heard them laid them up in their heart, saying, What then shall this child be? For the hand of the Lord was with him.

57-80

And his father Zacharias was filled with the Holy Ghost, and prophesied, saying,

BLESSED BE THE LORD, THE GOD OF (1)  
ISRAEL;

For he hath visited and WROUGHT REDEMPTION FOR HIS PEOPLE, i. 57-80

AND HATH RAISED UP A HORN of salvation  
for us

In the house of his servant DAVID

(As he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets  
which have been since the world began),

SALVATION FROM OUR ENEMIES, AND FROM  
THE HAND OF ALL THAT HATE US;

To shew MERCY TOWARDS OUR FATHERS,  
AND TO REMEMBER HIS HOLY COVENANT;

THE OATH which he SWARE UNTO ABRAHAM  
our father,

To grant unto us that we being delivered out of the  
hand of our enemies

Should serve him without fear,

In holiness and righteousness before him all our  
days.

Yea and thou, child, shalt be called the prophet of  
the Most High;

For thou shalt go BEFORE THE FACE OF THE  
LORD TO MAKE READY HIS WAYS;

To give knowledge of salvation unto his people

In the remission of their sins,

Because of the tender mercy of our God,

Whereby the dayspring from on high shall visit us,

TO SHINE UPON THEM THAT SIT IN DARK-  
NESS AND THE SHADOW OF DEATH;

To guide our feet into the way of peace.

And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, and  
was in the deserts till the day of his showing unto  
Israel.

(1) Like the Magnificat, this song is full of Septuagint phraseology.

*The Birth of Jesus Christ*

LUKE

ii. 1-21

Now it came to pass in those days, there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be enrolled. This was the first enrolment made when Quirinius was governor of Syria. And all went to enrol themselves, every one to his own city. And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judæa, to the city of David, which is called Bethlehem, because he was of the house and family of David; to enrol himself with Mary, who was betrothed to him, being great with child. And it came to pass, while they were there, the days were fulfilled that she should be delivered. And she brought forth her firstborn son; and she wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger, because there was no room for them in the inn. (1)

And there were shepherds in the same country abiding in the field, and keeping watch by night over their flock. And an angel of the Lord stood by them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them: and they were sore afraid. And the angel said unto them, Be not afraid; for behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy which shall be to all the people: for there is born to you this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord. And this is the sign unto you; Ye shall find a babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, and lying in a manger. And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying,

Glory to God in the highest,

And on earth peace among men in whom he is well pleased.

(1) The birth of Jesus could not have occurred during the governorship of Quirinius, unless Matthew is mistaken in placing it in the reign of Herod, though Quirinius may have been present and in charge of a census at this earlier time.

And it came to pass, when the angels went away from them into heaven, the shepherds said one to another, Let us now go even unto Bethlehem, and see this thing that is come to pass, which the Lord hath made known unto us. And they came with haste, and found both Mary and Joseph, and the babe lying in the manger. And when they saw it, they made known concerning the saying which was spoken to them about this child. And all that heard it wondered at the things which were spoken unto them by the shepherds. But Mary kept all these sayings, pondering them in her heart. And the shepherds returned, glorifying and praising God for all the things that they had heard and seen, even as it was spoken unto them.

And when eight days were fulfilled for circumcising him, his name was called Jesus, which was so called by the angel before he was conceived in the womb.

### *The Presentation in the Temple*

And when THE DAYS OF THEIR PURIFICATION according to the law of Moses WERE FILLED, they brought him up to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord (as it is written in the law of the Lord, EVERY MALE THAT OPENETH THE WOMB SHALL BE CALLED HOLY TO THE LORD) and to offer a sacrifice according to that which is said in the law of the Lord, A PAIR OF TURTLEDOVES, OR TWO YOUNG PIGEONS. And behold, there was a man in Jerusalem, whose name was Simeon; and this man was righteous and devout, looking for the consolation of Israel: and the Holy Spirit was upon him. And it had been revealed unto him by the Holy

ii. 22-40

(1)

(2)

(3)

(1) Lev. XII. 4.      (2) Ex. XIII. 12.      (3) Lev. XII. 8.

Spirit, that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ. And he came in the Spirit into the temple: and when the parents brought in the child Jesus, that they might do concerning him after the custom of the law, then he received him into his arms, and blessed God, and said,

Now lettest thou thy servant depart, O Lord,  
According to thy word, in peace;  
For mine eyes HAVE SEEN THY SALVATION,  
Which thou hast prepared BEFORE THE FACE  
OF ALL PEOPLES;  
A LIGHT FOR REVELATION TO THE GEN-  
TILES,

And the GLORY of thy people ISRAEL.

(1)

And his father and his mother were marvelling at the things which were spoken concerning him; and Simeon blessed them, and said unto Mary his mother, Behold, this child is set for the falling and rising up of many in Israel; and for a sign which is spoken against; yea and a sword shall pierce through thine own soul; that thoughts out of many hearts may be revealed. And there was one Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asher (she was of a great age, having lived with a husband seven years from her virginity, and she had been a widow even for fourscore and four years), which departed not from the temple, worshipping with fastings and supplications night and day. And coming up at that very hour she gave thanks unto God, and spake of him to all them that were looking for the redemption of Jerusalem. And when they had accomplished all things that were according to the law of the Lord, they returned into Galilee, to their own city Nazareth.

And the child grew, and waxed strong, filled with wisdom: and the grace of God was upon him.

(1) Phraseology of LXX.

*The Visit to the Temple*

ii. 41-52

And his parents went every year to Jerusalem at the feast of the passover. And when he was twelve years old, they went up after the custom of the feast; and when they had fulfilled the days, as they were returning, the boy Jesus tarried behind in Jerusalem; and his parents knew it not; but supposing him to be in the company, they went a day's journey; and they sought for him among their kinsfolk and acquaintance: and when they found him not, they returned to Jerusalem, seeking for him. And it came to pass, after three days they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them, and asking them questions: and all that heard him were amazed at his understanding and his answers. And when they saw him, they were astonished: and his mother said unto him, Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? behold, thy father and I sought thee sorrowing. And he said unto them, How is it that ye sought me? wist ye not that I must be in my Father's house? (1) And they understood not the saying which he spake unto them. And he went down with them, and came to Nazareth; and he was subject unto them: and his mother kept all these sayings in her heart.

And Jesus advanced in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and men.

Here comes an introduction by Luke to the Q passage dealing with the mission of John Baptist:

*The Preaching of the Forerunner*

Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judæa, and

iii. 1-2

(1) Or, about my Father's business. Gr. "in the things of my Father."

LUKE  
iii. 1-2

Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of the region of Ituræa and Trachonitis, and Lysanias tetrarch of Abilene, in the high-priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas, the word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness.

(1)

### *Imprisonment of John Baptist*

(Based on Mark VI. 17)

With many other exhortations therefore preached he good tidings unto the people; but Herod the tetrarch, being reprovèd by him for Herodias his brother's wife, and for all the evil things which Herod had done, added yet this above all, that he shut up John in prison.

18-20

### *The Genealogy*

And Jesus himself, when he began to teach, was about thirty years of age, being the son (as was supposed) of Joseph the son of Heli, the son of Matthat, the son of Levi, the son of Melchi, the son of Jannai, the son of Joseph, the son of Mattathias, the son of Amos, the son of Nahum, the son of Esli, the son of Naggai, the son of Maath, the son of Mattathias, the son of Semein, the son of Josech, the son of Joda, the son of Joanan, the son of Rhesa, the son of Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, the son of Neri, the son of Melchi,

23-38

(1) At this time, it is known that there had been, in fact, many changes in the high-priesthood, though, in theory, the office was held for life. It seems that Annas, who was very old, had abdicated in favour of his son-in-law Caiaphas, but still retained the honorary title along with some presidential rights.



the son of Addi, the son of Cosam, the son of Elmadam, the son of Er, the son of Jesus, the son of Eliezer, the son of Jorim, the son of Matthat, the son of Levi, the son of Symeon, the son of Judas, the son of Joseph, the son of Jonam, the son of Eliakim, the son of Melea, the son of Menna, the son of Mattatha, the son of Nathan, the son of David, the son of Jesse, the son of Obed, the son of Boaz, the son of Salmon, the son of Nahshon, the son of Amminadab, the son of Arni, the son of Hezron, the son of Perez, the son of Judah, the son of Jacob, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham, the son of Terah, the son of Nahor, the son of Serug, the son of Reu, the son of Peleg, the son of Eber, the son of Shelah, the son of Cainan, the son of Arphaxad, the son of Shem, the son of Noah, the son of Lamech, the son of Methuselah, the son of Enoch, the son of Jared, the son of Mahalaleel, the son of Cainan, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, the son of God.

### *Nazareth Re-visited*

And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee: and a fame went out concerning him through all the region round about. And he taught in their synagogues, being glorified of all.

iv. 14-30

And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up: and he entered, as his custom was, into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and stood up to read. And there was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Isaiah. And he opened the book, and found the place where it was written,

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,  
Because he anointed me to preach good tidings to  
the poor:

He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives,

And recovering of sight to the blind,  
 To set at liberty them that are bruised,  
 To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.

And he closed the book, and gave it back to the attendant, and sat down: and the eyes of all in the synagogue were fastened on him. And he began to say unto them, To-day hath this scripture been fulfilled in your ears. And all bare him witness, and wondered at the words of grace which proceeded out of his mouth: and they said, Is not this Joseph's son? And he said unto them, Doubtless ye will say unto me this parable, Physician, heal thyself: whatsoever we have heard done at Capernaum, do also here in thine own country. And he said, Verily I say unto you, No prophet is acceptable in his own country. But of a truth I say unto you, There were many widows in Israel in the days of Elijah, when the heaven was shut up three years and six months, when there came a great famine over all the land; and unto none of them was Elijah sent, but only to Zarephath, in the land of Sidon, unto (2) a woman that was a widow. And there were many lepers in Israel in the time of Elisha the prophet; and none of them was cleansed, but only Naaman the (3) Syrian. And they were all filled with wrath in the synagogue, as they heard these things; and they rose up, and cast him forth out of the city, and led him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might throw him down headlong. But he passing through the midst of them went his way.

*The Call of Peter and James and John*

Now it came to pass, while the multitude pressed upon him and heard the word of God, that he was v. I-II

(1) Isaiah LXI. 1, 2. (2) I Kings XVII. 9. (3) 2 Kings V.

standing by the lake of Gennesaret; and he saw two boats standing by the lake: but the fishermen had gone out of them, and were washing their nets. And he entered into one of the boats, which was Simon's, and asked him to put out a little from the land. And he sat down and taught the multitudes out of the boat. And when he had left speaking, he said unto Simon, Put out into the deep, and let down your nets for a draught. And Simon answered and said, Master, we toiled all night, and took nothing: but at thy word I will let down the nets. And when they had this done, they inclosed a great multitude of fishes; and their nets were breaking; and they beckoned unto their partners in the other boat, that they should come and help them. And they came, and filled both the boats, so that they began to sink. But Simon Peter, when he saw it, fell down at Jesus' knees, saying, Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord. For he was amazed, and all that were with him, at the draught of the fishes which they had taken; and so were also James and John, sons of Zebedee, which were partners with Simon. And Jesus said unto Simon, Fear not; from henceforth thou shalt catch men. And when they had brought their boats to land, they left all, and followed him.

And it came to pass on one of those days, that he was teaching; and there were Pharisees and doctors of the law sitting by, which were come out of every village of Galilee and Judæa and Jerusalem: and the power of the Lord was with him to heal. (1) v. 17

And no man having drunk old wine desireth new: for he saith, the old is good. 39

(1) An editorial verse linking up Marcan passages.

*The Widow's Son at Nain*

And it came to pass soon afterwards, that he went to a city called Nain; and his disciples went with him, and a great multitude. Now when he drew near to the gate of the city, behold, there was carried out one that was dead, the only son of his mother, and she was a widow: and much people of the city was with her. And when the Lord saw her, he had compassion on her, and said unto her, Weep not. And he came nigh and touched the bier: and the bearers stood still. And he said, Young man, I say unto thee, Arise. And he that was dead sat up, and began to speak. And he gave him to his mother. And fear took hold on all: and they glorified God, saying, A great prophet is arisen among us: and, God hath visited his people. And this report went forth concerning him in the whole of Judæa, and all the region round about.

vii. 11-17

This is followed by a Q passage telling of the deputation from John Baptist, "Art thou he that cometh or look we for another?" In the middle of this Q passage Luke inserts:

And when the men were come unto him, they said, John the Baptist hath sent us unto thee, saying, Art thou he that cometh, or look we for another? In that hour he cured many of diseases and plagues and evil spirits: and on many that were blind he bestowed sight.

20, 21

(1)

(1) See p. 59.

*Jesus and the Penitent Woman*

vii. 36-50

And one of the Pharisees desired him that he would eat with him. And he entered into the Pharisee's house, and sat down to meat. And behold, a woman which was in the city, a sinner; and when she knew that he was sitting at meat in the Pharisee's house, she brought an alabaster cruse of ointment, and standing behind at his feet, weeping, she began to wet his feet with her tears, and wiped them with the hair of her head, and kissed his feet, and anointed them with the ointment. Now when the Pharisee which had bidden him saw it, he spake within himself, saying, This man, if he were a prophet, would have perceived who and what manner of woman this is which toucheth him, that she is a sinner. And Jesus answering said unto him, Simon, I have somewhat to say unto thee. And he saith, Master, say on. A certain lender had two debtors: the one owed five hundred pence, and the other fifty. When they had not wherewith to pay, he forgave them both. Which of them therefore will love him most? Simon answered and said, He, I suppose, to whom he forgave the most. And he said unto him, Thou hast rightly judged. And turning to the woman, he said unto Simon, Seest thou this woman? I entered into thine house, thou gavest me no water for my feet: but she hath wetted my feet with her tears, and wiped them with her hair. Thou gavest me no kiss: but she, since the time I came in, hath not ceased to kiss my feet. My head with oil thou didst not anoint: but she hath anointed my feet with ointment. Wherefore I say unto thee, Her sins, which are many, are forgiven; for she loved much: but to whom little is forgiven, the same loveth little. And he said unto her, Thy sins are forgiven. And they that sat at meat with him began to say within themselves, Who is this that even forgiveth sins? And he said unto the woman, Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace.

*The Ministry of the Women*

And it came to pass soon afterwards, that he went about through cities and villages, preaching and bringing the good tidings of the kingdom of God, and with him the twelve, and certain women which had been healed of the evil spirits and infirmities, Mary that was called Magdalene, from whom seven devils had gone out, and Joanna the wife of Chuza Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others, which ministered unto them of their substance.

viii. 1-3

*Herod's Desire*

. . . but who is this, about whom I hear such things? And he sought to see him.

ix. 9b

*The Transfiguration*

And it came to pass about eight days after these sayings, he took with him Peter and John and James, and went up into the mountain to pray. And as he was praying, the fashion of his countenance was altered, and his raiment became white and dazzling. And behold, there talked with him two men, which were Moses and Elijah; who appeared in glory, and spake of his decease which he was about to accomplish at Jerusalem. Now Peter and they that were with him were heavy with sleep: but when they were fully awake, they saw his glory, and the two men that stood with him. And it came to pass, as they were parting from him, Peter said unto Jesus, Master, it is good for us to be here: and let us make three tabernacles; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah; not knowing what he said. And while he said these things, there came a cloud, and overshadowed them: and they feared as they entered into the cloud. And a voice

ix. 28-36

LUKE

came out of the cloud, saying, This is my Son, my (1) ix. 28-36  
 chosen: hear ye him. And when the voice came, Jesus  
 was found alone. And they held their peace, and told  
 no man in those days any of the things which they had (2)  
 seen.

*The Rebuke of James and John*

And it came to pass, when the days were well-nigh  
 come that he should be received up, he steadfastly set  
 his face to go to Jerusalem, and sent messengers before  
 his face: and they went, and entered into a village of  
 the Samaritans, to make ready for him. And they did  
 not receive him, because his face was as though he  
 were going to Jerusalem. And when his disciples  
 James and John saw this, they said, Lord, wilt thou  
 that we bid fire to come down from heaven, and  
 consume them? But he turned, and rebuked them.  
 And they went to another village.

51-56

*The Lawyer's Question: Parable of the Good Samaritan*

And behold, a certain lawyer stood up and tempted  
 him, saying, Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal  
 life? And he said unto him, What is written in the law?  
 how readest thou? And he answering said, Thou shalt  
 love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all

x. 25-37

(1) Isaiah XLI. 2. Deut. XVIII. 15.

(2) This section is clearly based in Mark IX. 2-10, and some  
 of the words here printed are not peculiar to Luke. Both Matthew  
 and Luke make use of the Marcan passage, both slightly shorten  
 it, and both have additional matter. In each case the additions  
 are too long and of too little importance to be regarded as edi-  
 torial explanations, yet the additions of Matthew and Luke to  
 Mark are totally different from each other. The natural explana-  
 tion of these facts is that both Matthew and Luke are freely  
 adapting a Marcan passage which was absent from Q. In con-

firmation of this surmise, it may be noted that the three Evangelists, Mark, Matthew, Luke give three slightly different versions of the voice and use three different words of address (translated Rabbi, Lord, Master) in Peter's speech.

LUKE

x. 25-37

thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself. And he said unto him, Thou hast answered right: this do, and thou shalt live. But he, desiring to justify himself, said unto Jesus, And who is my neighbour? Jesus made answer and said, A certain man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho; and he fell among thieves, which both stripped him and beat him, and departed, leaving him half dead. And by chance a certain priest was going down that way; and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side. And in like manner a Levite also, when he came to the place, and saw him, passed by on the other side. But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was: and when he saw him, he was moved with compassion, and came to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring on them oil and wine; and he set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him. And on the morrow he took out two pence, and gave them to the host, and said, Take care of him; and whatever thou spendest more, I, when I come back again, will repay thee. Which of these three, thinkest thou, proved neighbour unto him that fell among the thieves? And he said, He that shewed mercy on him. And Jesus said unto him, Go, and do thou likewise.

*Martha and Mary.*

Now as they went on their way, he entered into a certain village: and a certain woman named Martha received him into her house. And she had a sister called Mary, which also sat at the Lord's feet, and heard his word. But Martha was cumbered about

38-42



much serving; and she came up to him, and said, Lord, dost thou not care that my sister did leave me, to serve alone? bid her therefore that she help me. But the Lord answered and said unto her, Martha, Martha, thou art anxious and troubled about many things: but one thing is needful: for Mary hath chosen the good part, which shall not be taken away from her.

LUKE  
x. 38-42

### *True Blessedness*

And it came to pass, as he said these things, a certain woman out of the multitude lifted up her voice, and said unto him, Blessed is the womb that bear thee, and the breasts which thou didst suck. But he said, Yea, rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it. . . . If therefore thy whole body be full of light, having no part dark, it shall be wholly full of light, as when the lamp with its bright shining doth give thee light.

xi. 27, 28

36-38

Now as he spake, a Pharisee asketh him to dine with him: and he went in, and sat down to meat. And when the Pharisee saw it, he marvelled that he had not first washed before dinner.

### *Parable of the Rich Fool*

And one out of the multitude said unto him, Master, bid my brother divide the inheritance with me. But he said unto him, Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you? And he said unto them, Take heed, and keep yourselves from all covetousness: for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth. And he spake a parable unto them, saying, The ground of a certain rich man brought forth plentifully: and he reasoned within himself, saying, What shall I do, because I have not where to bestow my fruits? And he said, This will I do: I will pull down my barns, and build greater; and there will I bestow

xii. 13-21

all my corn and my goods. And I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, be merry. But God said unto him, Thou foolish one, this night is thy soul required of thee; and the things which thou hast prepared, whose shall they be? So is he that layeth up treasure for himself, and is not rich toward God.

(1)

47-50

And that servant, which knew his lord's will, and made not ready, nor did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes; but he that knew not, and did things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes. And to whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required: and to whom they commit much, of him will they ask the more.

I came to cast fire upon the earth; and what will I, if it is already kindled? But I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished!

*The Lesson of Calamities: the Barren Fig Tree*

xiii. 1-5

Now there were some present at that very season which told him of the Galilæans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices. And he answered and said unto them, Think ye that these Galilæans were sinners above all the Galilæans, because they have suffered these things? I tell you, Nay: but, except ye repent, ye shall all in like manner perish. Or those eighteen, upon whom the tower in Siloam fell, and killed them, think ye that they were offenders above all the men that dwell in Jerusalem? I tell you, Nay: but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.

(1) For. XII. 35-38. See p. 282.

LUKE  
xiii. 6-9

And he spake this parable: A certain man had a fig tree planted in his vineyard; and he came seeking fruit thereon, and found none. And he said unto the vinedresser, Behold, these three years I come seeking fruit on this fig tree, and find none: cut it down; why doth it also cumber the ground? And he answering saith unto him, Lord, let it alone this year also, till I shall dig about it, and dung it: and if it bear fruit thenceforth, well; but if not, thou shalt cut it down.

*Healing on the Sabbath.*

10-17

And he was teaching in one of the synagogues on the sabbath day. And behold, a woman which had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years; and she was bowed together, and could in no wise lift herself up. And when Jesus saw her, he called her, and said to her, Woman, thou art loosed from thine infirmity. And he laid his hands upon her: and immediately she was made straight, and glorified God. And the ruler of the synagogue, being moved with indignation because Jesus had healed on the sabbath, answered and said to the multitude, There are six days in which men ought to work: in them therefore come and be healed, and not on the day of the sabbath. But the Lord answered him, and said, Ye hypocrites, doth not each one of you on the sabbath loose his ox or his ass from the stall, and lead him away to watering? And ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan had bound, lo, these eighteen years, to have been loosed from this bond on the day of the sabbath? And as he said these things, all his adversaries were put to shame: and all the multitude rejoiced for all the glorious things that were done by him.

And it came to pass, when he went into the house of one of the rulers of the Pharisees on a sabbath to eat bread, that they were watching him. And behold, there was before him a certain man which had the dropsy. . . . (Running on into a Q passage—see p. 82).

xiv. 1-6

*The Vanity of Guests and Hosts Reproved.*

And he spake a parable unto those which were bidden, when he marked how they chose out the chief seats; saying unto them, When thou art bidden of any man to a marriage feast, sit not down in the chief seat; lest haply a more honourable man than thou be bidden of him, and he that bade thee and him shall come and say to thee, Give this man place; and then thou shalt begin with shame to take the lowest place. But when thou art bidden, go and sit down in the lowest place; that when he that hath bidden thee cometh, he may say to thee, Friend, go up higher: then shalt thou have glory in the presence of all that sit at meat with thee. For every one that exalteth himself shall be humbled; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted. (1)

xiv. 7-14

And he said to him also that had bidden him, When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, nor thy kinsmen, nor rich neighbours; lest haply they also bid thee again, and a recompense be made thee. But when thou makest a feast, bid the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind: and thou shalt be blessed; because they have not wherewith to recompense thee: for thou shalt be recompensed in the resurrection of the just.

*The Parable of the Great Supper*

(2)

And when one of them that sat at meat with him heard these things, he said unto him, Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God. But he said

15-24

(1) Verse 11 is Q and the whole of this section may be from that source.

(2) This parable bears a remarkable resemblance to the "Marriage Feast" in Matthew, but the differences are so great they could hardly have come from the same source. If either is Q, it is Matthew's version and not this one.

LUKE

xiv. 15-24

unto him, A certain man made a great supper; and he bade many: and he sent forth his servant at supper time to say to them that were bidden, Come; for all things are now ready. And they all with one consent began to make excuse. The first said unto him, I have bought a field, and I must needs go out and see it: I pray thee have me excused. And another said, I have bought five yoke of oxen; and I go to prove them: I pray thee have me excused. And another said, I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come. And the servant came, and told his lord these things. Then the master of the house being angry said to his servant, Go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city, and bring in hither the poor and maimed and blind and lame. And the servant said, Lord, what thou didst command is done, and yet there is room. And the lord said unto the servant, Go out into the highways and hedges, and constrain them to come in, that my house may be filled. For I say unto you, that none of those men which were bidden shall taste of my supper.

*Eating with Sinners.*

Now all the publicans and sinners were drawing near unto him for to hear him. And both the Pharisees and the scribes murmured, saying, This man receiveth (i) sinners, and eateth with them.

xv. 1, 2

*Parable of the Prodigal Son.*

And he said, A certain man had two sons: and the younger of them said to his father, Father, give me the portion of thy substance that falleth to me. And he divideth unto them his living. And not many days after the younger son gathered all together, and took

11-32

(i) With these words Luke introduces the Parables of the Lost Sheep and the Lost Coin, which are almost certainly Q.

his journey into a far country; and there he wasted his substance with riotous living. And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that country; and he began to be in want. And he went and joined himself to one of the citizens of that country; and he sent him into his fields to feed swine. And he would fain have been filled with the husks that the swine did eat: and no man gave unto him. But when he came to himself he said, How many hired servants of my father's have bread enough and to spare, and I perish here with hunger! I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight: I am no more worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants. And he arose, and came to his father. But while he was yet afar off, his father saw him, and was moved with compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him. And the son said unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight: I am no more worthy to be called thy son. But the father said to his servants, Bring forth quickly the best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on his feet: and bring the fatted calf, and kill it, and let us eat, and make merry: for this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found. And they began to be merry. Now his elder son was in the field: and as he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard music and dancing. And he called to him one of the servants, and inquired what these things might be. And he said unto him, Thy brother is come; and thy father hath killed the fatted calf, because he hath received him safe and sound. But he was angry, and would not go in: and his father came out, and intreated him. But he answered and said to his father, Lo, these many years do I serve thee, and I never transgressed a commandment of thine, and yet thou never gavest me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends: but

when this thy son came, which hath devoured thy living with harlots, thou killedst for him the fatted calf. And he said unto him, Son, thou art ever with me, and all that is mine is thine. But it was meet to make merry and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is alive again; and was lost, and is found.

*Parable of the Unjust Steward.*

And he said also unto the disciples, There was a certain rich man, which had a steward; and the same was accused unto him that he was wasting his goods. And he called him, and said unto him, What is this that I hear of thee? render the account of thy stewardship; for thou canst be no longer steward. And the steward said within himself, What shall I do, seeing that my lord taketh away the stewardship from me? I have not strength to dig; to beg I am ashamed. I am resolved what to do, that, when I am put out of the stewardship, they may receive me into their houses. And calling to him each one of his lord's debtors, he said to the first, How much owest thou unto my lord? And he said, A hundred measures of oil. And he said unto him, Take thy bond, and sit down quickly and write fifty. Then said he to another, And how much owest thou? And he said, A hundred measures of wheat. He saith unto him, Take thy bond, and write fourscore. And his lord commended the unrighteous steward because he had done wisely: for the sons of this world are for their own generation wiser than the sons of the light. And I say unto you, Make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness; that, when it shall fail, they may receive you into the eternal tabernacles. He that is faithful in a very little is faithful also in much: and he that is unrighteous in a very little is unrighteous also in much.

LUKE

xvi. 1-12

If therefore ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust the true riches? And if ye have not been faithful in that which is another's, who will give you that which is your own? No servant can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other or else he will hold to one and despise the other. Ye cannot (1) 13 serve God and mammon.

(1) Verse 13 is from Q, but it is needed here to complete Luke's argument.

*Reproof of the Pharisees.*

And the Pharisees, who were lovers of money, heard all these things; and they scoffed at him. And he said unto them, Ye are they that justify yourselves in the sight of men; but God knoweth your hearts: for that which is exalted among men is an abomination in the sight of God. 14-15

The next three verses are from Q, and this time they interrupt the argument which would run better without them.

*The Rich Man and Lazarus*

Now there was a certain rich man, and he was clothed in purple and fine linen, faring sumptuously every day: and a certain beggar named Lazarus was laid at his gate, full of sores, and desiring to be fed with the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table; yea, even the dogs came and licked his sores. And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and that he was carried away by the angels into Abraham's bosom: and the rich man also died, and was buried. And in Hades he lifted up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth 19-31



Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom. And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am in anguish in this flame. But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and Lazarus in like manner evil things: but now here he is comforted, and thou art in anguish. And beside all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed, that they which would pass from hence to you may not be able, and that none may cross over from thence to us. And he said, I pray thee, therefore, father, that thou wouldst send him to my father's house; for I have five brethren; that he may testify unto them, lest they also come into this place of torment. But Abraham said, They have Moses and the prophets: let them hear them. And he said, Nay, father Abraham: but if one go to them from the dead, they will repent. And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, (1) neither will they be persuaded, if one rise from the dead.

(1) Many explanations of this parable have been suggested. It should be observed that there is no hint in the story that Dives was a particularly bad man. Every difficulty disappears if we take Dives to represent the Jewish nation, rich in religious truth but somewhat selfishly despising the poverty of the Gentiles whose only hope is in God's mercy. (Lazarus means "God his help.")

### *The Ten Lepers.*

And it came to pass, as they were on the way to Jerusalem, that he was passing through the midst of Samaria and Galilee. And as he entered into a certain village, there met him ten men that were lepers, which stood afar off: and they lifted up their voices, saying, Jesus, Master, have mercy on us. And when he saw xvii. 11-19

them, he said unto them, Go and shew yourselves unto the priests. And it came to pass, as they went, they were cleansed. And one of them, when he saw that he was healed, turned back, with a loud voice glorifying God; and he fell upon his face at his feet, giving him thanks: and he was a Samaritan. And Jesus answering said, Were not the ten cleansed? but where are the nine? Were there none found that returned to give glory to God, save this stranger? And he said unto him, Arise, and go thy way: thy faith hath made thee whole.

And being asked by the Pharisees, when the kingdom of God cometh, he answered them and said, The kingdom of God cometh not with observation: . . . for lo, the kingdom of God is within you. And he said unto the disciples, The days will come when ye shall desire to see one of the days of the Son of man, and ye shall not see it.

### *The Parable of the Importunate Widow*

And he spake a parable unto them to the end that they ought always to pray, and not to faint; saying, There was in a city a judge, which feared not God, and regarded not man: and there was a widow in that city; and she came oft unto him, saying, Avenge me of mine adversary. And he would not for a while: but afterwards he said within himself, Though I fear not God, nor regard man; yet because this widow troubleth me, I will avenge her, lest she wear me out by her continual coming. And the Lord said, Hear what the unrighteous judge saith. And shall not God avenge his elect, which cry to him day and night, and he is longsuffering over them? I say unto you, that he will avenge them speedily. Howbeit when the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?

*The Parable of the Pharisee and Publican.*

And he spake also this parable unto certain which trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and set all others at nought: Two men went up into the temple to pray; the one a Pharisee, and the other a publican. The Pharisee stood and prayed thus with himself, God, I thank thee, that I am not as the rest of men, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican. I fast twice in the week; I give tithes of all that I get. But the publican, standing afar off, would not lift up so much as his eyes unto heaven, but smote his breast, saying, God, be merciful to me a sinner. I say unto you, This man went down to his house justified rather than the other: for every one that exalteth himself shall be humbled: but he that humbleth himself shall be exalted. xviii. 9-14

*The Meeting with Zacchæus.*

And he entered and was passing through Jericho. And behold, a man called by name Zacchæus; and he was a chief publican, and he was rich. And he sought to see Jesus who he was; and could not for the crowd, because he was little of stature. And he ran on before, and climbed up into a sycamore tree to see him: for he was to pass that way. And when Jesus came to the place, he looked up, and said unto him, Zacchæus, make haste, and come down; for to-day I must abide at thy house. And he made haste, and came down, and received him joyfully. And when they saw it, they all murmured, saying, He is gone in to lodge with a man that is a sinner. And Zacchæus stood, and said unto the Lord, Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have wrongfully exacted aught of any man, I restore fourfold. And Jesus said unto him, To-day is salvation come to this house, xix. 1-10

forasmuch as he also is a son of Abraham. FOR THE SON OF MAN CAME TO SEEK and to save THAT WHICH WAS LOST. (1) xix. 1-10

*The Parable of the Pounds*

(2)

And as they heard these things, he added and spake a parable, because he was nigh to Jerusalem, and because they supposed that the kingdom of God was immediately to appear. He said therefore, A certain nobleman went into a far country, to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return. And he called ten servants of his, and gave them ten pounds, and said unto them, Trade ye herewith till I come. But his citizens hated him, and sent an ambassage after him, saying, We will not that this man reign over us. And it came to pass, when he was come back again, having received the kingdom, that he commanded these servants, unto whom he had given the money, to be called to him, that he might know what they had gained by trading. And the first came before him, saying, Lord, thy pound hath made ten pounds more. And he said unto him, Well done, thou good servant: because thou wast found faithful in a very little, have thou authority over ten cities. And the second came, saying, Thy pound, Lord, hath made five pounds. And he said unto him also, Be thou also over five cities. And another came, saying, Lord, behold, here is thy pound, which I kept laid up in a napkin: for I feared thee, because thou art an austere man: thou takest xix. 11-28

(1) Ezek. XXXIV. 16.

(2) The parable bears a strong resemblance to the parable of the Talents, but as there are also serious differences, it is impossible to say which, if either, came from Q. Verse 26 is certainly Q.

up that thou layedst not down, and reapest that thou didst not sow. He saith unto him, Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, thou wicked servant. Thou knewest that I am an austere man, taking up that I laid not down, and reaping that I did not sow; then wherefore gavest thou not my money into the bank, and I at my coming should have required it with interest? And he said unto them that stood by, Take away from him the pound, and give it unto him that hath the ten pounds. And they said unto him, Lord, he hath ten pounds. I say unto you, that unto every one that hath shall be given; but from him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken away from him. Howbeit these mine enemies, which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me.

And when he had thus spoken, he went on before, going up to Jerusalem.

From this point onwards, Luke uses free composition. He had probably told the story of the Passion so often himself that he had no need to refer to written sources. His narrative includes most of Mark (though there are numerous small changes in the order of events), and includes some material unknown to Mark. Luke's account of the various Trials is much more likely to be accurate than those of Mark and Matthew.

The text which now follows indicates the matter peculiar to our third Gospel.

*The Triumphant Entry.*

[And as he was now drawing nigh, even at the descent of the mount of Olives, the whole multitude of the disciples began to rejoice and praise God with a loud voice for all the mighty works which they had seen; saying Blessed is the King that cometh in the name of the Lord: peace in heaven, and glory in the highest.] And some of the Pharisees from the multitude said unto him, Master, rebuke thy disciples. And he answered and said, I tell you that, if these shall hold their peace, the stones will cry out. xix. 37-40 (1)

*Weeping Over Jerusalem.*

And when he drew nigh, he saw the city and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known in this day, even thou, the things which belong unto peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, when thine enemies shall cast up a bank about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall dash thee to the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knowest not the time of thy visitation. 41-44

This is followed by the Cleansing of the Temple, also from Mark, with the single additional comment, "the principal men of the people" sought to destroy him (as well as the chief priests and scribes).

Then comes (XX. 1—XXI. 17), a long passage taken almost entirely from Mark. It contains the answer of Jesus to the challenge of his authority, the parable of the wicked husbandman, the "stone which the builders rejected," the question of

(1) Words in brackets are based on Mark, verses 39, 40 are Luke only.

payment of Cæsar's tribute, of the woman with seven husbands, of David's son, followed by a warning against the scribes, the widow's mite, a prediction of the destruction of the Temple, and the warning of persecutions to come.

In this long passage, there are some editorial additions and a little further information is given (see Appendix IV).

Verse 18 is the longest addition:

"Every one that falleth on that stone shall be broken in pieces: but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will scatter him as dust"; but the only one of real importance is that of verses 34, 35 and 36, and this may be a Q passage.

And Jesus said unto them, The sons of this world xx. 34-36  
marry, and are given in marriage: but they that are  
accounted worthy to attain to that world, and the  
resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are  
given in marriage: for neither can they die any more:  
for they are equal unto the angels; and are sons of  
God, being sons of the resurrection. . . . And certain  
of the scribes answering said, Master, thou hast well 39  
said. For they durst not any more ask him any  
question.

Most of the following passage is L., but it overlaps a similar one in Mark XIII.

And not a hair of your head shall perish. In your xx. 18-28  
patience ye shall win your souls.

But when ye see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that her desolation is at hand. Then let them that are in Judæa flee unto the mountains; and let them that are in the midst of her depart out; and let not them that are in the country enter therein. For these are days of vengeance, that all things which

are written may be fulfilled. Woe unto them that are with child and to them that give suck in those days! for there shall be great distress upon the land, and wrath upon this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led captive into all the nations: and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled. And there shall be signs in sun and moon and stars; and upon the earth distress of nations, in perplexity for the roaring of the sea and the billows; men fainting for fear, and for expectation of the things which are coming on the world: for the powers of the heavens shall be shaken. And then shall they see the Son of man coming in a cloud with power and great glory. But when these things begin to come to pass, look up, and lift up your heads; because your redemption draweth nigh.

But take heed to yourselves, lest haply your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and cares of this life, and that day come on you suddenly as a snare: for so shall it come upon all them that dwell on the face of all the earth. But watch ye at every season, making supplication, that ye may prevail to escape all these things that shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of man.

34-38

And every day he was teaching in the temple; and every night he went out, and lodged in the mount that is called the mount of Olives. And all the people came early in the morning to him in the temple, to hear him.

*The Last Supper: the Eucharist*

(1)

And when the hour was come, he sat down, and the apostles with him. And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I

xxii. 14-18



suffer: for I say unto you, I will not eat it, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God. And he received a cup, and when he had given thanks, he said, Take this, and divide it among yourselves: for I say unto you, I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come. But behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table. And they began to question among themselves, which of them it was that should do this thing.

xxii. 14-18

(1)

21

23

*Warnings at the Last Supper.*

And there arose also a contention among them, which of them is accounted to be greatest. And he said unto them, The kings of the Gentiles have lordship over them; and they that have authority over them are called Benefactors. But ye shall not be so: but he

(2)

xxii. 24-30a

(1) Luke, as we have it, contains a double account of the institution of the Eucharist. It is usually supposed that the shorter account here given is the correct version and that the second one (with bread *and* wine) has crept into the text by assimilation to Mark and Matthew. In John there is no institution of the Eucharist, although that Evangelist devotes a relatively large part of his book to the Last Supper. The words in Lk. XXII. 15, "With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you," seem to imply that the Last Supper was not a Paschal meal. Jesus had hoped to eat this last Passover with the disciples, but events had moved more rapidly than he had expected and he had been obliged to revise his plans. Luke, therefore, by implication, agrees with John as to the date of the Crucifixion. Mark, followed by Matthew, is in error on this point. This is a sure proof, if one were needed, that Mark is not based entirely on the evidence of an eyewitness and that the author of the first Gospel in our Bibles was not one of the Twelve.

(2) This is a good example of free composition based on Mark.

that is the greater among you, let him become as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve. For whether is greater, he that sitteth at meat, or he that serveth? is not he that sitteth at meat? but I am in the midst of you as he that serveth. (1)

But ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations; and I appoint unto you a kingdom, even as my Father appointed unto me, that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom. (2)

*The Conversion of Peter: the Two Swords*

Simon, Simon, behold, Satan asked to have you, that he might sift you as wheat: but I made supplication for thee, that thy faith fail not: and do thou, when once thou hast turned again, stablish thy brethren. And he said unto him, Lord, with thee I am ready to go both to prison and to death. And he said, I tell thee, Peter, the cock shall not crow this day, until thou shalt thrice deny that thou knowest me. (3)

(4)

And he said unto them, When I sent you forth without purse, and wallet, and shoes, lacked ye anything? And they said, Nothing. And he said unto them, But now, he that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise a wallet: and he that hath none, let him sell his cloke, and buy a sword. For I say unto you,

(1) Some see in this verse a hint of the feet-washing, which is only in John.

(2) Luke adds here (in verse 30) the Q passage about "twelve thrones." See p. 95.

(3) The "turning again" of Peter must have been a very important incident in the history of Christianity, but the record of it is lost—possibly with the end of Mark's Gospel.

(4) Mark has two cock-crows, but Matthew agrees with Luke.

that this which is written must be fulfilled in me, And he was reckoned with transgressors: for that which concerneth me hath fulfilment. And they said, Lord, behold, here are two swords. And he said unto them, It is enough. xxii. 31-38

From this point onwards the Marcan influence begins to fade away. The last unmistakable trace of it is in XXIII. 50-56, and even there it is mainly confined to a verse and a half (52 and 53a).

### *The Agony.*

And he came out, and went, as his custom was, unto the mount of Olives; and the disciples also followed him. And when he was at the place, he said unto them, Pray that ye enter not into temptation. [And he was parted from them about a stone's cast; and he kneeled down and prayed, saying, Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me: nevertheless not my will, but thine, be done.] And there appeared unto him an angel from heaven, strengthening him. And being in an agony he prayed more earnestly: and his sweat became as it were great drops of blood falling down upon the ground. And when he rose up from his prayer, he came unto the disciples, and found them sleeping for sorrow, and said unto them, Why sleep ye? rise and pray, that ye enter not into temptation. 39-46

(1)

(2)

(3)

(1) Words in brackets are Marcan.

(2) Many ancient MSS. omit verses 43, 44.

(3) "For sorrow"—an excuse for the sleeping sentries which is not found in the other Gospels. Mark records the words of Jesus, "the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak."

*The Arrest.*

While he yet spake, behold, a multitude, and he that xxii. 47-53  
 was called Judas, one of the twelve, went before them;  
 and he drew near unto Jesus to kiss him. But Jesus  
 said unto him, Judas, betrayest thou the Son of man  
 with a kiss? And when they that were about him saw  
 what would follow, they said, Lord, shall we smite  
 with the sword? [And a certain one of them smote the  
 servant of the high priest, and struck off his right ear.] (I)  
 But Jesus answered and said, Suffer ye thus far. And  
 he touched his ear, and healed him. And Jesus said  
 unto the chief priests, and captains of the temple, and  
 elders, which were come against him, [Are ye come  
 out, as against a robber, with swords and staves?] (I)  
 When I was daily with you in the temple, ye stretched  
 not forth your hands against me: but this is your hour,  
 and the power of darkness.

## THE TRIALS

Luke XXII. 54—XXIII. 25

St. Luke gives the best account of the Trials of Our Lord.

*First.* XXII. 54-65. He describes the events which took place  
 in the guard room during the night. There was no trial during  
 the hours of darkness, but two things happened—the denial of  
 Peter (55-62), the account of which is based almost entirely on  
 Mark, with the significant addition, “and the Lord turned, and  
 looked upon Peter” (61), and the mocking. All this occurred  
 before daybreak when the members of the Sanhedrin would  
 assemble.

And the men that held Jesus mocked him, and beat xxii. 63-65  
 him. And they blindfolded him, and asked him,  
 saying, Prophecy: who is he that struck thee? And  
 many other things spake they against him, reviling  
 him.

*Second.* The examination by the Sanhedrin (XXII. 66-71), and this is described in Luke's own words:—

And as soon as it was day, the assembly of the elders of the people was gathered together, both chief priests and scribes; and they led him away into their council, saying, If thou art the Christ, tell us. But he said unto them, If I tell you, ye will not believe: and if I ask you, ye will not answer. But from henceforth shall the Son of man be seated at the right hand of the power of God. And they all said, Art thou then the Son of God? And he said unto them, Ye say that I am. And they said, What further need have we of witness? for we ourselves have heard from his own mouth. xxii. 66-71

### *The Roman Trial of Our Lord*

And the whole company of them rose up, and brought him before Pilate. And they began to accuse him, saying, We found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, and saying that he himself is Christ a king. [And Pilate asked him, saying, Art thou the King of the Jews? And he answered him and said, Thou sayest.] And Pilate said unto the chief priests and the multitudes, I find no fault in this man. But they were the more urgent, saying, He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Judæa, and beginning from Galilee even unto this place. But when Pilate heard it, he asked whether the man were a Galilæan. And when he knew that he was of Herod's jurisdiction, he sent him unto Herod, who himself also was at Jerusalem in these days. xxiii. 1-7

(1) Verse 3 is Mark. All the rest is peculiar to Luke.

*The Trial before Herod*

(1)

Now when Herod saw Jesus, he was exceeding glad: xxiii. 8-12  
 for he was of a long time desirous to see him, because he had heard concerning him; and he hoped to see some miracle done by him. And he questioned him in many words; but he answered him nothing. And the chief priests and the scribes stood, vehemently accusing him. And Herod with his soldiers set him at nought, and mocked him, and arraying him in gorgeous apparel sent him back to Pilate. And Herod and Pilate became friends with each other that very day: for before they were at enmity between themselves.

*The Roman Trial Resumed*

13-25

And Pilate called together the chief priests and the rulers and the people, and said unto them, Ye brought unto me this man, as one that perverteth the people: and behold, I, having examined him before you, found no fault in this man touching those things whereof ye accuse him: no, nor yet Herod: for he sent him back unto us; and behold, nothing worthy of death hath been done by him. I will therefore chastise him, and release him. But they cried out all together, saying, Away with this man, and release unto us Barabbas: one who for a certain insurrection made in the city, and for murder, was cast into prison. And Pilate spake unto them again, desiring to release Jesus; but they shouted, saying, Crucify, crucify him. And he said unto them the third time, Why, what evil hath this man done? I have found no cause of death in him: I will therefore

(1) Luke only.

(2) Barabbas is in Mark. Most of the remainder is Luke.

chastise him and release him. But they were instant xxiii. 13-25 with loud voices, asking that he might be crucified. And their voices prevailed. And Pilate gave sentence that what they asked for should be done. And he released him that for insurrection and murder had been cast into prison, whom they asked for; but Jesus he delivered up to their will.

### *The Daughters of Jerusalem*

And there followed him a great multitude of the people, and of women who bewailed and lamented him. But Jesus turning unto them said, Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children. For behold, the days are coming, in which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the breasts that never gave suck. Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us. For if they do these things in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?

27-31

### *The Prayer of Forgiveness*

And Jesus said, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.

34  
(1)

### *The Repentant Thief*

And one of the malefactors which were hanged railed on him, saying, Art not thou the Christ? save thyself and us. But the other answered, and rebuking

39-41

(1) The MSS. evidence for this prayer, though strong, is not conclusive. It occurs only in Luke.

LUKE

him said, Dost thou not even fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation? And we indeed justly; for we receive the due reward of our deeds: but this man hath done nothing amiss. And he said, Jesus, remember me when thou comest in thy kingdom. And he said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise. xxiii. 39-43

### *The Last Words*

And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit: and having said this, he gave up the ghost. And when the centurion saw what was done, he glorified God, saying, Certainly this was a righteous man. And all the multitudes that came together to this sight, when they beheld the things that were done, returned smiting their breasts. 45,-48 (1)

### *The Resurrection*

But on the first day of the week, at early dawn, they came unto the tomb, bringing the spices which they had prepared. And they found the stone rolled away from the tomb. And they entered in, and found not the body of the Lord Jesus. And it came to pass, while they were perplexed thereabout, behold, two men stood by them in dazzling apparel: and as they were affrighted, and bowed down their faces to the earth, xxiv. 1-12 (2)

(1) Peculiar to Luke. Mark makes the centurion say, "truly this man was a son of God."

(2) Based on Mark but related freely. The "young man" (*νεανίσκος*) at the tomb has become "two men in dazzling apparel."



LUKE  
xxiv. 1-12

they said unto them, Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here, but is risen: remember how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee, saying that the Son of man must be delivered up into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again. And they remembered his words, and returned from the tomb, and told all these things to the eleven, and to all the rest. Now they were Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James: and the other women with them told these things unto the apostles. And these words appeared in their sight as idle talk; and they disbelieved them. But Peter arose, and ran unto the tomb; and stooping and looking in, he seeth the linen cloths by themselves; (2) and he departed to his home, wondering at that which which was come to pass.

*The Appearance to Two Disciples*

13-35

And behold, two of them were going that very day to a village named Emmaus, which was threescore furlongs from Jerusalem. And they communed with each other of all these things which had happened. And it came to pass, while they communed and questioned together, that Jesus himself drew near, and went with them. But their eyes were holden that they should not know him. And he said unto them, What communications are these that ye have one with another, as ye walk? And they stood still, looking sad. And one of them, named Cleopas, answering said unto him, Dost thou alone sojourn in Jerusalem and not know the things which are come to pass there in these days? And he said unto them, What things? And they said unto him, The things concerning Jesus of Nazareth, which was a prophet mighty in deed and

(2) Verse 12 is not in all the MSS.

word before God and all the people: and how the chief priests and our rulers delivered him up to be condemned to death, and crucified him. But we hoped that it was he which should redeem Israel. Yea and beside all this, it is now the third day since these things came to pass. Moreover certain women of our company amazed us, having been early at the tomb; and when they found not his body, they came, saying, that they had also seen a vision of angels, which said that he was alive. And certain of them that were with us went to the tomb, and found it even so as the women had said: but him they saw not. And he said unto them, O foolish men, and slow of heart to believe in all that the prophets have spoken! Behoved it not the Christ to suffer these things, and to enter into his glory? And beginning from Moses and from all the prophets, he interpreted to them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself. And they drew nigh unto the village, whither they were going: and he made as though he would go further. And they constrained him, saying, Abide with us: for it is toward evening, and the day is now far spent. And he went in to abide with them. And it came to pass, when he had sat down with them to meat, he took the bread, and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them. And their eyes were opened, and they knew him; and he vanished out of their sight. And they said one to another, Was not our heart burning within us, while he spake to us in the way, while he opened to us the scriptures? And they rose up that very hour, and returned to Jerusalem, and found the eleven gathered together, and them that were with them, saying, The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon. And they rehearsed the things that happened in the way, and how he was known of them in the breaking of the bread. xxiv. 13-35

*An Appearance to all the Disciples*

And as they spake these things, he himself stood in xxiv. 36-43  
the midst of them, and saith unto them, Peace be  
unto you. But they were terrified and affrighted, and  
supposed that they beheld a spirit. And he said unto  
them, Why are ye troubled? and wherefore do reason-  
ings arise in your heart? See my hands and my feet,  
that it is I myself: handle me, and see; for a spirit hath  
not flesh and bones, as ye behold me having. And when  
he had said this, he shewed them his hands and his feet.  
And while they still disbelieved for joy, and wondered,  
he said unto them, Have ye here anything to eat? And  
they gave him a piece of a broiled fish. And he took  
it, and did eat before them.

*The Commission to the Disciples*

And he said unto them, These are my words which  
I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, how that  
all things must needs be fulfilled, which are written  
in the law of Moses, and the prophets, and the psalms,  
concerning me. Then opened he their mind, that they  
might understand the scriptures; and he said unto  
them, Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer,  
and rise again from the dead the third day; and that  
repentance and remission of sins should be preached  
in his name unto all the nations, beginning from  
Jerusalem. Ye are witnesses of these things. And  
behold, I send forth the promise of my Father upon  
you: but tarry ye in the city, until ye be clothed with  
power from on high.

44-49

*The Ascension*

And he led them out until they were over against xxiv. 50-53  
Bethany: and he lifted up his hands, and blessed them.  
And it came to pass, while he blessed them, he parted  
from them, and was carried up into heaven. And they  
worshipped him, and returned to Jerusalem with (1)  
great joy; and were continually in the temple, blessing  
God.

(1) Some MSS. omit "worshipped him."

## CHAPTER VII

### THE WITNESS OF Q

#### THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO Q

ALTHOUGH but fifty years ago the very existence of the document now called Q was unsuspected, and although the original book has probably been lost for ever, it is hardly possible to doubt that such a work was written and incorporated in our Gospels of Matthew and Luke. Moreover, the book may be reconstructed; not, it is true, with completeness, nor, at every point, with certainty, but with sufficient accuracy to leave little room for question as to its main outlines. Furthermore, this reconstructed Gospel is a work of first-rate importance; it is nearer in time and therefore probably closer in thought to Jesus Christ himself than anything else in our possession. It is difficult to see how any claim for it can be too great; its authority must at least equal that of any other part of the New Testament, and a proper estimate of its witness is likely to affect our understanding of Christianity.

If we would know what Jesus thought of God, of himself and of mankind, it is to Q first that we must turn. If there is doubt on any point, if, that is, our records seem to be inconsistent one with another, Q must be called in as arbiter, and it will be found extremely difficult to shake its evidence. Of the four witnesses represented in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke, Q is in many ways the most important and the most trustworthy. There are points upon which the witness of Q is silent, and the evidence of others must be sought, but when Q speaks, it will be found hard to refuse a hearing and if, at times, we venture to go beyond Q, we must be careful not to proceed in a direction contrary to its evidence.

Since the authority of the book is so great, great also must be

the care with which its reconstruction is undertaken. In Chapter IV we have applied the test of language. The guiding rule is that when words occur in Matthew and in Luke which have not been derived from Mark, these words stood in the original Q. Chapter IV represents the results of this rigid investigation. It is true that, in a few places, passages or parts of passages are included, although they only occur in one and not in both of the two Gospels (Matthew and Luke). The reasons for their inclusion are sufficiently obvious in the text, and, *with one exception*, they make but little difference to the meaning of the work as a whole. The one exception occurs in the Agalliasis passage<sup>1</sup> where the verses in Matthew beginning "come unto me, all ye that labour," are included, although the confirmatory support of Luke is lacking. The case for inclusion is very strong; without the addition of the words beginning "come unto me . . .," not only is this Agalliasis passage deprived at once of its meaning and its logical conclusion, but the entire work of Q, if it is to be regarded as in any sense a connected thesis and not a mere collection of disjointed sayings, falls to the ground. The Agalliasis passage in this complete form, as given in Matthew, is the climax of the whole book, and probably provides the reason for which Q was written. And this reason is similar to that given by St. John for the writing of his own Gospel "that ye may believe that Jesus is the Son of God, and that, believing, ye may have life" (John XX. 31).

The persistency with which scholars have regarded Q as a mere collection of sayings has had disastrous results and has tended to obscure the real nature of the book. The mistake has unhappily been perpetuated by the attempt to equate Q with the *λόγια* of Papias. Papias was surely referring to the Gospel according to Matthew and, in the next chapter, it will be shown that *λόγια* is not an unfair description of it.

If we dismiss Papias and study Q itself, it soon becomes evident that it is *not* a mere collection of sayings. In such a collection what place could be found for the Temptation, the story of the Centurion and his Servant, the account of the Deputation from

---

<sup>1</sup> "Agalliasis" means "exultation," and the Q passage referred to is Lk. X. 21, 22 = Mt. XI. 25-27. See pp. 90-93.

John the Baptist, the Beelzebub Controversy, and the Sign of Jonah? It may be admitted that these incidents are all included because they lead up to some great truth enunciated by Jesus. No doubt they do; no doubt also the author of Q set himself the task of showing his readers what manner of man Jesus *was*, and what was the true import of his message, rather than what Jesus *did* and what was done *to* him. All this may be admitted, and it remains true that Q is no mere collection of sayings, but a treatise written with a definite purpose and constructed on a definite and intelligible plan. What less could possibly be expected of the author from whom and from whom *alone* we derive our knowledge of the details of the Temptation, and who alone has preserved those marvellous words of the Agalliasis passage wherein, according to one view—and that view presumably that of the author of Q—is summed up the Christian creed and the whole Christian Gospel? The close similarity of the Agalliasis passage to the Fourth Gospel—by no means the only link between Q and John—suggests another thought. Suppose that the Gospel of St. John had not survived in its majestic unity, but only in liberal quotations in the works of two other writers; suppose that we were able to recover most of the discourses together with a few incidents, such perhaps as the turning of water into wine at the marriage at Cana in Galilee, and the healing of the Nobleman's Son; should we not, in this case, have been likely to draw the conclusion that our Fourth Gospel was mainly a collection of sermons? Yet such a natural conclusion would fall far short of the truth. The Gospel of St. John is written with a definite plan to achieve a lofty purpose, and both plan and purpose would be lost in mere quotations.

Happily with Q we have enough to be able to recover at least the purpose of the work—the words are sufficient for the purpose—but we can only guess at the plan. The substance of Q is in Chapter IV; though the arrangement is arbitrary. *Some* order there must have been, and any reader is at liberty to exercise his imagination on it. It is, of course, possible to take the order of the various passages as they occur in Matthew or in Luke, but the result is not entirely satisfactory in either case. It is clear that Matthew rearranged part of his Q material in order to get

together his great blocks of sayings; Luke's order will therefore probably be preferred by many, but we have no guarantee that he, too, did not make changes in the order. Luke had a plan of his own, and even if, as has been suggested,<sup>1</sup> he had formed "Proto-Luke" out of Q and L before he became acquainted with Mark, we still cannot be sure that the Q material was not rearranged to suit Luke's own purposes. Such rearrangement is all the more probable in view of Luke's misunderstanding of Q on some important points. The most likely assumption is that both Matthew and Luke used Q merely as a quarry from which to hew many important stones for their own edifices, and if this is so we are at liberty to reconstruct Q in a different order if coherence is thereby gained.

With a problem such as this it is better to work with *some* solution, even though it be incapable of proof, than with none at all. The main point to be realised is that Q is a treatise starting with the [Baptism and] Temptation and designed to lead up to the *Agalliasis* passage as a climax, designed, that is, to show how and in what sense Jesus of Nazareth is the Son of God, and the meaning of this truth to mankind. In Chapter IV this climax has been placed near, though not quite *at* the end of the book. If Luke's order is the correct one, it would come in the middle. We have put it where a Greek would probably wish it to be because in Q there are not wanting indications, slight though they be, of Greek authorship, but the actual position of the words is only a matter of artistic interest. It is the meaning to be attached to them which matters most, and this meaning must now be explained.

The word "agalliasis" means "exultation," and the passage has earned the name because in Luke's account it is prefaced with, "in that hour Jesus *rejoiced* in the spirit," Matthew has "at that season Jesus answered and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding; and didst reveal them unto babes, yea, Father, for so it was well pleasing in thy sight." So far, very interesting, but not vital—but *now* "All things have been

---

<sup>1</sup> See *The Four Gospels: a Study in Origins*, by Dr. B. H. Streeter.



delivered unto me of my Father." We do not know the limits, if there be any, to the power of spirit over matter. It is likely that Jesus did not recognise such limits—there will assuredly be none when God's kingdom has really come. Matter will have served its purpose and have passed away. Some such thoughts may have been in his mind when he made this remarkable claim, but the universe of discourse in this passage demands that "all things" be confined to all *knowledge* of God. This, however, includes judgment. His *values* were God's values, his judgment therefore was true. And here we come upon a gap in Q. Why should this Knowledge of God be claimed by Jesus? There can be little doubt of the answer, though it is not in our Q. It is that Jesus throughout his entire life had always listened for and obeyed the Divine Voice—in plainer words, Jesus had done entirely, completely and always, what most of us do partially, feebly and only at times—subordinated his own will to that of the Father.

This is implied though never exactly stated in our Q. It is almost impossible to believe that it was absent from the complete work, and if it was there, it is only too easy to see why both Matthew and Luke should have passed it by. It cannot be understood by anyone who deprives Jesus of any fraction of his manhood. It is in John—not once but many times—that the equation of the will of Jesus to that of his Father is emphasised and is expressly stated to be the cause of his powers of judgment.

All things were delivered to Jesus, not because he was the son of a virgin, but because he had fulfilled his Divine Sonship. He equated his will to that of the Father, and the result, magnificent on one side, was terrible on the other. The nearer he drew to God, the more difficult it seemed to become for other people to understand him. And this is universally true—all great men must experience this feeling of loneliness. The artist devotes himself to the worship of the Muses—they claim his whole allegiance till compromise with the standards of ordinary men becomes impossible to him—it is grand but, for the devotee, it means all the privations of the desert. Thus it must have seemed to Jesus who came to his own and his own received him not. "No

man hath known the Son, save the Father.”<sup>1</sup>

Jesus is stating a fact when he goes on to say, “no man hath known the Father, save the Son.” No one had hitherto trod the path which led to the perfect understanding of all the mysteries of life, but now that the way had been found, it was open to others also “and him to whom the Son willeth to reveal him.” Then, lest this should seem to introduce an arbitrary element, acceptance of some and rejection of others, there follows the *universal* invitation “Come unto me *all* ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.” All the steps are natural, logical, inevitable.

Lastly, to complete both the beauty and the meaning of the passage, we find “Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart, and my yoke is easy and my burden light.” The yoke<sup>2</sup> is the link between the powerful animal pulling and the load to be moved, and is necessary if any work is to be done, but it may be a perfectly fitting bond or it may, on the contrary, fit most ill and be the cause of much suffering to the worker, and also of much loss of power. With a good, well-constructed yoke—one that fits exactly to the shoulders—the heaviest weights to be drawn may seem light.

All men have work to do—what kind of yoke should be used that the greatest load may be moved with the least chafing? Jesus here tells us that his yoke is the only one that fits. Man, rebellious against the will of God, trying to serve his *own* ends or content with the second best aims, is in the position of a horse with a badly fitting yoke. If we will learn of him, Jesus promises that *our* yokes will fit as easily as his, and that we shall then find the burden light.

There is surely no need to be warned against any easy-going interpretation of these words. The character of the speaker and the nature of the whole teaching of Q would rise up in revolt at so foolish a thought, but the words are certainly intended as a

---

<sup>1</sup> As Harnack has shown, it is not certain that this clause stood in Q, but John (I. 11) has “He came unto his own, and they that were his own received him not.”

<sup>2</sup> Doubtless, a contrast to the yoke of the Law was intended. The Law was a grievous burden.

tender encouragement to those who struggle on life's journey, as well as a warning that if we refuse to subordinate our wills to that of God and try to fit ourselves with yokes not of his making, our struggles will be presently painful and in the end unavailing.

It is seen, therefore, that this Agalliasis chapter in Q is the culminating point of the treatise, and that it sums up in itself the whole story of the impact of the personality of Jesus Christ upon the world. There is a similarly brief and a similarly illuminating passage in the Old Testament—Jeremiah XXXI. 31-34 tells of the new covenant<sup>1</sup> which God will make with His people and the words may certainly be taken as prophetic in any and in every good sense, for they tell of the coming of the Kingdom of God, and the ideas they express are the same as those of Jesus himself. There can be little doubt that this shortest, earliest and best description of Utopia from the pen of one of the greatest pre-exilic prophets was often in the mind of Jesus when he spoke of the New Covenant.

Here, then, in this Agalliasis passage, Q gives us the great claim to Sonship made by Jesus himself, and the great invitation to all to share with him man's birthright; but the glory of Q does not end there. It is not merely that Q gives us these words, it is the way in which the climax is built up. In all the earlier chapters from the Temptation onwards, the reader has been kept on the tiptoe of expectation. What manner of man is this in whom God is well pleased, who can speak with such authority, and who can hold out such hopes for mankind? Knowing our other gospels, we expect to find accounts of signs and wonders, but the method

---

<sup>1</sup> Jer. XXXI. 31-34. Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah; not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt; which my covenant they brake, although I was an husband unto them, saith the Lord. But this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord; I will put my law (teaching) in their inward parts, and in their heart will I write it; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people: And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, know the Lord: for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord: for I will forgive their iniquity, and their sin will I remember no more.

adopted by Q is different, for in its pages we learn that no sign shall be given. At the outset all such adventitious aids are refused. Pandering to material needs, glories of Empire, Signs and Wonders—all are swept aside, and Jesus makes his grand appeal by sheer force of personality and, when the secret of it is asked, gives for answer, "take my yoke upon you."

Q has been somewhat hardly used by Matthew and Luke—Luke inserts signs and wonders in the story of the embassy from the Baptist, Matthew in the "sign of Jonah," and *both* in the story of the Centurion's Servant, but a careful examination of the text restores to Q his claim that Jesus had no need of such witness.

For the rest, let the treasure store of Q speak for itself. There is, however, one strange omission in the work. An absence of the great parables cannot fail to be noted, and it is conceivable that Luke derived from Q his stories of the Good Samaritan, the Rich Man and Lazarus, the Unjust Steward and the Prodigal Son. A sentence now and again from this Lucan section such as, "ye cannot serve God and Mammon," certainly comes from Q, but as these parables do not occur in Matthew, we have no right to put them in Q. It must be sufficient to say that they are thoroughly in keeping with the general tenour and teaching of Q and that if they had been in that book it is not difficult to see in each case why Matthew should have omitted them, for they lend no support either to his Judaistic views of Christianity or to his ideas of Divine forgiveness. Further than that, no one is entitled to go, and there is one possible line of thought which tells against the inclusion of the longer parables in Q and that line must now be followed up.

Parables are conspicuously absent from the Gospel of St. John, and the resemblances between Q and John go deep. The relation between the two works is so close that it is hard to think of them as being entirely independent. Thoughts which are but hints in Q are fully developed in John. Questions suggested by Q find their answers in the later work. The explanation may be that both Q and John understood their Lord and Master perhaps better than any other writers in the New Testament: it may also be that John was well acquainted with this earlier work. These two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive—both may be true. It is tempting to

suppose that the two books are the work of the same author, that John wrote Q as a young man, and the Gospel which bears his name when he was very old, but there are so many objections to this otherwise attractive theory that it can hardly be allowed to stand. For, in spite of the similarities in outlook, and sometimes in language, there are also wide contrasts between Q and John. We need not necessarily reckon the different uses of miracles in the two works as one of these contrasts. That difference may only be on the surface. It is true that there are no miracles in Q,<sup>1</sup> and John seems to abound in them, but it is not certain that John intended his miracle stories to be taken literally. Perhaps he did, but why then does he call them "signs"? He must have known that Jesus refused to give "signs," and of what value are John's signs unless they signify truths in the realm of spirit? When these questions have been put and answered, it may be that we shall find not much difference between Q and John in the matter of "signs." But there is one feature of John's Gospel which could not be reconciled to Q. In dealing with the Old Testament, John makes use of Rabbinic methods; he quotes texts from the Old Testament to show that events took place *in order that* prophecies might be fulfilled. This is not the place to make an examination of John on the point, but it is most important to realise that Q leads up to his tremendous claim with no such guides. Just as he scorns the misuse of miracles, so also he has nothing to say about Old Testament prophecy.

These thoughts suggest that the author of Q may not have been a Jew, but it is impossible to identify him. Once Q was partially incorporated in Matthew and in Luke, no further copies of the work would be made, and no one in those days was sufficiently interested in questions of authorship to preserve for us so much as the name of this most important and fascinating writer.

Q must have been early—in all probability it is the earliest writing in the New Testament, and there is nothing, except perhaps its maturity of thought, to prevent us from believing it to be virtually contemporary witness. Almost certainly the author had seen Jesus and heard him speak. But whatever the date and

---

<sup>1</sup> Unless the healing of a dumb man in Q 10 is called a miracle.

whoever the author, there need be no doubt of its meaning.

Jesus, by virtue, not of virginal birth or miraculous powers, not of fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy, but of lifelong obedience to the Divine will, was the Son of God to whom all things were delivered. But this heritage belongs to all mankind, and not to Jesus alone, and before all of us the awful choice is continually put. Life is war and neutrality is impossible.

### AUTHORSHIP OF Q

Curiosity as to the author of this important work is inevitable, but it is never likely to be satisfied. At the time of its publication, there was this indifference to questions of authorship. There is no definite statement in any one of the four Gospels of the New Testament of the name of its creator; it is not, therefore, surprising that the name of the writer of what was only used as a source-book should have been withheld and soon forgotten. The possibility too, of the existence of *unknown* disciples must not be ignored. There must have been many followers of Jesus who have found no mention in the pages of the New Testament. There may even have been some who were never incorporated in the Christian Church, and among these it is not inconceivable that there were to be found those who understood the mind of Christ as well as, or better than, the acknowledged leaders of the Church. In our scanty records, we hear of Joseph of Arimathæa, of the family at Bethany, and of Nicodemus—these were all in their several ways of some importance in the Gospel story; yet their names do not occur in the Acts. Were they, or were they not, members of the Church at Jerusalem in the early days after the Resurrection? If they were, why do we never hear of them, and if they were not, what was the cause of their abstention?

For these questions, the answers can only be guessed, but it is at least clear that there *may* have been followers of Jesus who were not definitely attached to the early Church, and the author of Q may have been one of them. This does not lead us very

far; moreover, the leading may be in the wrong direction, for the work of Q must have been fairly well known at one time for it to come into the hands of two different writers, Matthew and Luke, neither of whom was acquainted with the work of the other. Yet, if there be any truth in some of the surmises made in the course of this book, neither Matthew nor Luke quite grasped the inner meaning of the work of Q, and their failure is more easily understood if we are allowed to imagine its author as a great thinker who stood somewhat outside the turmoils and the disputations of the early Church. We are tempted to think of some Galilean or Syrian who, for instance, never went to Jerusalem. We are still only in the region of guess-work but if, as seems likely, there was no Passion story in Q, this omission is more easily explained on some such hypothesis. There is no doubt that the interest of the book itself, as we now have it, is confined to the North and yet, in spite of that limitation, there is in it no narrow, exclusive nationalism but rather, on the contrary, a breadth of outlook which goes beyond the borders of Galilee. The faith of the centurion is emphasised, and the contrasts always are between those who do and those who do not accept the New Dispensation, never between the Jews of the Covenant and the Gentiles of the world.

It might be expected that the language of Q, its style, vocabulary and diction, would be of great assistance, but the results of all investigations on these lines have been disappointing. There are, however, four little peculiarities of Q, which though not infallible signs of the author's hand, are worth notice as hints.

- (1) He has a habit of beginning a section with a question.
- (2) He is fond of "I say unto you" often coupled with
- (3) *'αμήν* (verily), and lastly there is
- (4) "The weeping and the gnashing of teeth."

The second and third are also peculiarities of the author of the the Fourth Gospel, though he usually duplicates the *'αμήν*. Number (4) is probably always traceable to Q. Luke has it only once (in a Q passage) and Matthew six times. Most of these Matthæan passages are clearly Q, but unfortunately, in one or two of them, the original text has seemingly been changed by Matthew, so that we cannot be quite certain of his source. One

thing stands out clearly: the Greek of Q is full of Aramaicisms so that, in some sense, there must have been an Aramaic original. It is customary to assume that the work was first written in Aramaic and then translated into Greek, but there is a difficulty here. If it was written in Aramaic why, when translated, was it not rendered into more idiomatic Greek? Why, in other words, was it left to Luke to make all the changes necessary to produce Hellenistic Greek?

The question must be faced because it is clear that Matthew and Luke were using the same Greek words in their Q. While it is not impossible that the translator should have preferred to keep as close to the original as he could and, therefore, not to remove Aramaicisms, it is most unlikely that he should have made use of some expressions which are hardly Greek at all; and there are such passages in Q. The Septuagint is a Greek translation of the Hebrew Old Testament and it displays characteristics somewhat similar to those of Q. The reason in the case of the LXX is that the words of the Pentateuch were supposed to be Divinely inspired. There is no reason to think that the words of Q, even when reporting sayings of Jesus, would have been so regarded at this early date. It is, therefore, reasonable to look for another hypothesis, and one can be found.

If, as is probably true of St. John, the author himself was thinking in Aramaic and translating into Greek as he went along, the facts are explained. This implies that he was not a Greek—at least that Greek was not his mother-tongue—and that Aramaic was his natural language though, like most people at this time, he possessed enough Greek to enable him to use it for ordinary purposes if he wished to do so. Such a writer would find it easy to preserve, as Q has done, the Aramaic form of the sayings of Jesus. Jesus presumably used Aramaic ordinarily (though he, too, may have been acquainted with Greek as the *lingua franca* of the time), and one who habitually thought in Aramaic would be less tempted to make changes in reporting words of Jesus than would, say, Luke.

Is the conclusion to be drawn, then, that the author of Q was a Jew? It seems to be so—yet it is not certain. The population in Galilee, and in Northern Syria generally, was extraordinarily



mixed, and the language a man spoke was not necessarily a true index of his race. Q shows no interest in the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy; the apocalyptic sayings in Q can be differentiated from those of Mark; Jesus is, in Q, rather the Son of God than the Messiah of Jewish hope, and, moreover, if our surmise is correct, the author showed, by making use of the Greek language, that however narrow might be the geographical boundaries of the story he had to tell, he intended the significance of that story to reach beyond those boundaries to the whole world.

Matthew's ending might fittingly serve as the conclusion of Q: "Go ye therefore and make disciples of all the nations . . . and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

## CHAPTER VIII

### MARK, MATTHEW AND LUKE

#### THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MARK

NEARLY the whole of St. Mark's Gospel was incorporated either into St. Matthew or St. Luke, and the natural fate of such a book would be immediate neglect, and ultimate disappearance. From this fate our Mark was saved by the Church at Rome which apparently adopted it before the Gospels of Matthew and Luke had come into existence. Mark has therefore survived to our own day in what must be nearly its original form, though, curiously enough, the end of it has been lost. The work as we now have it ends abruptly in the middle of a sentence in Chapter XVI. verse 8. Mark is speaking of the women who found the tomb empty on the first day of the week after the Crucifixion. The women find a young man (*νεανίσκος*) (not an angel<sup>1</sup>—*ἄγγελος*) at the tomb, who gives them a message for "the disciples—and Peter," but "they said nothing to any one; for they were afraid of . . ."—so the Greek might be fairly translated, and then the narrative abruptly breaks off.

The lost end of Mark constitutes a literary mystery which is not now likely to be solved. The matter is further complicated because apparently neither Matthew nor Luke had a complete copy, for they both desert Mark's narrative some little way<sup>2</sup> before the end. In the case of Matthew this is very noticeable because he seems to need it so badly. He has followed Mark closely through-

---

<sup>1</sup> Matthew has an angel, Luke two men in dazzling apparel.

<sup>2</sup> It is sometimes asserted that Matthew and Luke follow Mark right up to the broken end. An examination of the words as printed in Rushbrooke's *Synopticon* renders such an assumption very difficult to maintain. The Resurrection narratives of Matthew and Luke differ widely from each other and from what remains of Mark.

out his book and, at this point, appears to have lost his guide. It is hardly necessary to add that the verses printed in our Bibles as Mark XVI. vv. 9 to the end are not original. They do not occur in the best manuscripts, and their style and vocabulary are completely different from the rest of the book. The case against them is simply overwhelming, and most scholars would assign them to the second century.

Although Mark, as we have it, embodies earlier sources,<sup>1</sup> some weight must be given to the statement of Papias (c. 140 A.D.) that it is a reproduction from memory of the preaching of St. Peter. The linguistic faults, if it be fair to use such a word of a book with no pretension to classical form, are almost obliterated in our English Version, but there are peculiarities in the subject-matter of Mark's Gospel, and these are as apparent in English as in the original Greek and must be mentioned here.

The first is the use made of the argument from miracles, which we know from other sources (mainly Q) to have been foreign to the thought of Jesus himself.

The second peculiarity displays itself in a somewhat crude apocalypticism, of which the thirteenth chapter (usually called "the Little Apocalypse") is an outstanding example. It is this over-emphasis and false interpretation of the eschatology of Jesus that enabled Dr. Albert Schweitzer some twenty years ago to draw a startling and somewhat disturbing picture of Jesus as a deluded Messiah. Fortunately, this colouring can be corrected by a reference to our other sources.

The third peculiarity in Mark is his emphasis on "demonology." As, however, his views on the causes of diseases are shared by Luke the Physician they must in those days have been well-nigh universal. Even Q is not entirely free, though John has none of it. The matter is not very serious,<sup>2</sup> but like the other two peculiarities—the use of miracles and the wrong emphasis in

---

<sup>1</sup>There are certain signs of composite authorship, *e.g.*, the feeding of the four thousand and the feeding of the five thousand probably refer to the same event.

<sup>2</sup>It must be remembered that nothing was known of bacteriology, and much of what we now know to be due to the activities of bacteria was attributed to the action of demons.

eschatology—it stamps Peter, in so far as he may be held responsible, as essentially a man of the people. Mark tells how, by the influence of Jesus, such a man was raised to the level of Peter the Apostle.

Even from a literary and historic point of view, Mark, in spite of his colloquialisms, has merits of a high order. His writing is wonderfully vivid, and parts of it certainly seem to be inspired by an eyewitness; moreover, he provides us, though perhaps unintentionally, with an intelligible time-scheme of the greatest value. This last point is curious because it is just the advantage apparently denied to the author by Papias, who apologises for Mark by saying that he made no attempt to put his material “in order.” Papias probably means *logical* not chronological order. Chronology hardly interested him: he wanted the work to be arranged according to subject-matter for teaching purposes. Mark does not so arrange it, nor would it be wise to lay too much stress on his chronology, for such matters had no more interest to him, or to Peter, than to Papias, yet he provides us in Chapters III and VIII of his book with two turning-points which are of great assistance when we try to construct the time-scheme of the Gospel story.

These two chapters divide the book into three distinct parts: Part 1: Chapter I, II and III; Part 2: Chapter IV to VIII; Part 3: Chapters IX to the end. In the first section we get a picture (Mark I and II) of a ministry in Galilee with headquarters in the *synagogue* at Capernaum. The preaching was successful and even, up to a point, popular. The people flocked to hear the new prophet and expectation ran high; by some people Jesus was, perhaps, already considered to be the long-expected Messiah. But along with the growing success of the mission during this first period, we are also made conscious of growing opposition, which culminates in Chapter III in the Beelzebub Controversy. Emissaries from Jerusalem came down, pronounced against Jesus and asserted that he was in league with the Devil. It seems unlikely that Jesus was formally expelled from the synagogue, but it became henceforth increasingly difficult and unsafe for him to make use of the synagogues as preaching centres. Moreover, the “Herodians”—the equivalent to some extent of the modern

police—had been warned to keep him under observation as a possible disturber of the peace.

Jesus, therefore, in this second period, withdrew from the dominion of Herod and wandered farther and farther northward, taking with him his specially chosen twelve to undergo an intensive course of training for the great work he had in view for them. "He appointed twelve, that they might be with him" (Mark III. 14), while to the multitudes he spoke mainly in parables. Time was short and, while he could train the few, he could best teach the many by means of stories, the full meaning of which might be worked out in the course of time. This second period, the time of parables on the one hand and intensive training of the twelve on the other, ends in Chapter VIII, at Cæsarea Philippi with: "Who say ye that I am?" and with Peter's answer, "Thou art the Christ."

Several things have now to be noticed. Jesus neither completely accepts, nor yet completely denies the title. He accepts it with profound modifications. The disciples expect triumph at Jerusalem; Jesus warns them of coming disaster. His conception of the Messiah differs fundamentally from that of the people, and therefore the disciples are forbidden to publish their belief. The belief of the disciples themselves is little better than that of the people at large. Peter shows the serious nature of their misconception by venturing to rebuke Jesus for speaking of the possibility of failure and is himself rebuked with: "Get thee behind me, Satan." Lastly, the people *are* told something: their task is to take up a cross and follow, for "whosoever shall lose his life shall save it."

After the confession of Peter at Cæsarea Philippi in Chapter VIII, the march to Jerusalem begins and the whole of the third section of the Gospel is occupied with the incidents of this march and with the story of Passion Week.

We obtain from Mark, therefore, not only a vivid account of some important aspects of the Galilean ministry but also a time-scheme which enables us to reconstruct the main incidents of the drama.

As regards the Petrine origin of Mark's Gospel there is need for caution, for we do not know the precise relationship between Mark and Peter. Vivid writing is not always evidence of an eye-

witness and it certainly could not be maintained that the *whole* of Mark's Gospel represents what scholars call primary, first-hand evidence. Just as Herodotus sometimes records what was probably the gossip of the lower deck, so Mark may, in places, have depended not on eyewitnesses but on bazaar talk. His accounts of the Gadarene swine incident, and of the stilling of the storm (Matthew calls it an earthquake!) present to us difficulties which are easily removed by a little reconstructive imagination and, when this is done, these stories become not merely interesting, but highly instructive. As it stands in Mark, the story of the Gadarene swine bids us accept an almost wanton destruction of property; while the stilling of the storm teaches the strange lesson that physical safety is assured by the presence of Jesus. (The disciples found otherwise at Gethsemane.) The form of the stories as given in Mark suggests the view from below.

If, however, this be thought too harsh a judgment, how can the account of the "trial" before the Sanhedrin in Mark XIV. be explained? None of the disciples was present; an eyewitness might, of course, have given an account to the disciples afterwards, but Mark's story is exactly the kind that would circulate in the market-place. It reads very differently in Luke and in John. And this is not an unimportant point; indeed, one aspect of it is vital. If Jesus really did use the words ascribed to him in verse 62, then Dr. Albert Schweitzer's picture of the deluded Messiah protrudes itself into the foreground again. If Jesus had been asked by Caiaphas whether or no he was Messiah—and it is more than likely that the question was actually put—how could this have been his answer: "I am, and ye shall see 'the son of man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming with the clouds of heaven' "? (Mk. XIV. 62).

The quotation is from Daniel VII. 13 and demands an allegorical interpretation. We know from John, even if we could not guess for ourselves, that the answer of Jesus would have contained some unmistakable warning that his kingdom was not of this world. Otherwise he would hardly have been behaving fairly to the members of the Sanhedrin, some of whom, it must not be forgotten, were friendly to Jesus. With the apocalyptic answer given in Mark, the Sanhedrin really had no choice but to find a

true bill (in the ordinary legal sense); it will be noted that this examination before the Sanhedrin was not, strictly speaking, a trial at all. It was a preliminary examination to discover whether there was a case that could be put before Pilate; the Council, in effect, constituted itself into a Grand Jury.

Then, too, there is the question of the date of the crucifixion. Mark makes the Last Supper into a Paschal meal, and Matthew follows him. From Luke we get warning of a different tradition, and John is unmistakably in favour of the day before the Passover as the date of the Supper. John is probably right and if Mark is wrong on such an important point, it becomes difficult to accept, without modification, Papias's account of the close relationship between this Gospel and the Apostle Peter.

All these things do not deprive Mark's Gospel of its very great value. The book occupies a safe position of its own but, in dealing with its witness, it is essential to bear in mind the particular point of view entertained by the writer.

### THE WITNESS OF MATTHEW

The seven groups of Matthæan peculiarities mentioned in Chapter III are strong indications of the character of the author and also of the purpose for which his book was written. With the help of Professor B. W. Bacon's *Studies in Matthew* it is possible not only to see the Evangelist's reasons for what he does in detail, but also to understand the plan of the Gospel as a whole. For a full exposition, the reader must refer to these "Studies," but it may be possible to summarise the results in a few sentences. The first point to observe is that the *λόγια* of Papias meant our "Gospel according to Matthew" and nothing else. It was in this sense that the word *λόγια* was always taken when Papias was quoted in ancient times and no adequate reason has been brought forward for reading any other meaning into it. Papias, writing c. 140 A.D., certainly believed the Gospel to be the book of the Apostle Matthew, and that is the only part of the story which remains unexplained. No one to-day who is acquainted with the book will find it easy to accept it as directly

Apostolic. Every feature displays a later date and implies a secondary origin. Apart from countless other considerations, no Apostle would be likely to have bound himself so closely as does the author of Matthew to the work of Mark, who, as was stated by Papias then and is generally admitted now, was, at most, only reproducing at second-hand the occasional sermons of the Apostle Peter.

How Papias came to believe in the Apostolic origin of Matthew, it is now quite impossible even to surmise. The heading "according to Matthew" may possibly mean that the book was composed on the lines of what was taken to be the teaching of that Apostle. Such a postulate is admissible and might account for the statement of Papias. Matthew, however, is a common name and if the author was so called, it would be a short step from Matthew to the Apostle Matthew in the case of a book so admirably fitted for the supposed needs of the Christian Church towards the end of the first century. Believing, as he did, that Matthew the Apostle was the writer of the book, Papias was very likely, on his own authority, to assert that it was originally written in Hebrew (Aramaic) and that the Gospel known both to him and to us was a Greek translation. These *Targums*, or free translations, are known to have been made in various places where Greek was not spoken. The place of origin of Matthew's Gospel was probably Northern Syria, and it would be natural for a translation into Aramaic to be made in such places as Aleppo and Edessa, and equally natural for Papias to conclude that the Aramaic Targum of which he had heard was the original Matthew, and the book with which he was acquainted a translation, instead of the other way round. However this may be, it is quite certain that the Gospel according to Matthew was not written by an Apostle and was not written in Aramaic, nor, it may be added, is there any warrant for equating Matthew the Apostle with Levi the Publican.

The book may be dated at about 90 A.D. and, at that time, the Church was hard beset by foes from without and from within. During the reign of Domitian, there was a persecution of the Christians and there was also, in the Church itself, an outbreak of lawlessness—or what appeared to be such to the anti-Pauline



party. To fortify the hearts of the faithful against oppression from without the Church, the Gospel according to Matthew promised an early release from their afflictions by encouraging belief in an imminent Second Advent to turn their sorrows into triumphant joy. This accounts for the apocalyptic elements in Matthew, which are even more pronounced than they are in Mark. To the author of our First Gospel, however, the danger threatening the Church from within seemed even greater than that from without. The "freedom" of the Gospel, as preached by St. Paul and his followers, was attended by great risks. The way of Jesus was not a safe one, hedged in by precepts of the Law as Judaism had been. Liberty is always liable to abuse and we can see by the Epistles of Paul, James and Jude that there had been outbreaks of lawlessness which forced the more timid and conservative leaders back on legalism as the obvious defence. To such a man as the writer of the First Gospel, it seemed that the only way to combat laxness in the social life of the Church was to create a new Torah (Law) to take the place of the Mosaic one rendered obsolete by the coming of Jesus Christ.

The first five books of the Old Testament form the Jewish Torah; they contain the precepts of the Law put into a frame-work of narrative designed to show how the Torah developed from the very beginnings of God's dealing with mankind. Matthew adopts a similar plan with his new Torah, and just as the Pentateuch was described by Jews as "the Oracles (λόγια) of God" (Rom. III. 2), so Papias was perfectly correct in describing Matthew's Gospel as "the Oracles (λόγια) of the Lord." The words of Papias are a description of the contents of the book and are not its title, which was then, as now, "The Gospel according to Matthew." It was the Jewish Law over again but raised to a higher plane. "It was said by them of old time, but *I* say . . ." "The righteousness" on which Matthew is so insistent is hardly distinguishable from the righteousness of the Pharisees, which consisted in keeping the Law.

Matthew's Gospel propounds a new legalism and, in this respect, is markedly anti-Pauline. "The scribes and the Pharisees sit on Moses's seat; all things, therefore, whatsoever they bid you, these do and observe" (XXIII. 1). "I came not to destroy

the law . . ." (V. 17). These words are peculiar to Matthew and there are other passages of a like colour. Then, again, the power of "binding and loosing" granted to Peter (XVI. 16 *f.*) and to the whole Church (XVIII. 15 *f.*) is thoroughly Jewish. Rabbinic methods are in evidence throughout; the oft-repeated "that it might be fulfilled" is typically Rabbinic and examples of midrash may be found. A midrash is a story invented or worked upon a slender foundation to teach a lesson for contemporaries. The most conspicuous example in Matthew is to be found at the end of Chapter XVII, where a story is told about Jesus to justify the payment of the Temple Tax by Christians of the writer's own time. The Temple had been destroyed, but the tax was still collected and became a poll-tax on all Jews for the benefit of the Imperial Treasury. Whether Jewish Christians were still to be counted as Jews was a question that vexed those for whom Matthew was writing. The story of the shekel in the fish's mouth was midrash, designed to help these people to come to a decision.

The prominence of Peter, both in this and other parts of Matthew, is easily explained. The Church's authority is everywhere extolled and Peter is regarded as the Head of the Church.

The very form of Matthew's Gospel is a copy of that of the Pentateuch. There are five books, each containing a collection of Oracles and connected by a thread of narrative which is taken for the most part from Mark.

Book 1: III—VII, Sermon on the Mount.

Book 2: VIII—XI. 1, The Charge to the Disciples.

Book 3: XI. 2—XIII. 53, The Parables of the Kingdom.

Book 4: XIII. 54—XIX. 1a, The Charge to the Church.

Book 5: XIX. 1b—XXVI. 1, Apocalyptic.

The first two chapters form a prologue and the last two an epilogue. It will be noted that these five books all end with similar words, "and it came to pass when Jesus had made an end of commanding his twelve disciples, he departed thence to teach and preach in their cities" (XI. 1), or something resembling this. In itself this similarity is a sufficient indication of intention on

the part of the author. Furthermore, there are, in the book, over a hundred quotations from the Old Testament.

The author may have been a converted Rabbi, still concerned for the preservation of Judaism, out of which Christianity was, to him, a legitimate development. He was a Jewish Christian and the Jewish side of his Christianity still heavily predominated. His work made for a stronger Church discipline and was a bulwark against persecution from without and heresy from within. This suited the Church leaders of the second century, and Matthew therefore became their most important and highly prized Gospel. Its position of pre-eminence was partly the cause and partly the effect of the strength of the Church in the Middle Ages, and it remains the chief weapon of the Roman Church to-day.

Matthew did for the teaching of Jesus Christ almost exactly what Ezekiel and Ezra had done for the teaching of the great pre-exilic prophets—Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah and Jeremiah. Just as Ezra believed that he was justified in ascribing his Law to Moses, so Matthew imagined himself to be promulgating the Law of Christ. In reading Matthew's Gospel, then, it is necessary to make proper allowance for the peculiar bias of the author's mind. In some sense, he still believed in the validity of Jewish law; he believed that Jesus was the Messiah of Jewish prophecy; he emphasised the apocalyptic elements in the teaching of Jesus at least as much as, if not more than, Mark; he was a firm believer in the miraculous and, among minor traits, it may be mentioned that he exhibits a marked tendency to expunge from the records any hints of limitation to the power of Jesus while here on earth, and any details which might be considered derogatory to the dignity of the Twelve Apostles.

A word as to literary methods may be added. When two sources overlapped, Matthew used the method of conflation, joining together as much of the two accounts as could be made to fit in with each other, and making but few changes even in the wording of his sources. This is the opposite of the method used by Luke who adopts one of his sources to the exclusion of another, in any one passage, but greatly improves on his origins in style and diction. Thus it comes about that Matthew copies Mark more consistently than does Luke, and it is to Matthew rather

than to Luke that we must look for the original wording of Q.

When, however, Matthew does make changes either in Mark or in Q it not infrequently happens that a theological end is furthered by the alteration. Good examples of such changes are afforded by Matthew's removal of the words "unto the remission of sins" from the preaching of the Baptist (in Mark) to the Last Supper and by his alteration of the ending of the parable of the Lost Sheep in Q. In both these passages, Matthew shows his disposition to reject the doctrine of Divine Forgiveness based on Repentance alone.

*Rabbinic Method.*—Perhaps a fuller explanation of the frequent "that it might be fulfilled" will be welcome because it illustrates an important feature of Rabbinic methods used at the time and is found not only in Matthew but in John and Paul and, indeed, most Jewish writers. First it should be noted that "in order that," while certainly a correct translation of the Greek, is not the only possible interpretation of the Aramaic lying behind the Greek. "So that" instead of "in order that" is the sense in such a passage as John IX. 2, "Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he should be born blind?" And the Greek is the same (*ὅτι*). Matthew *may*, therefore, have meant "so that"; but the point is not as important as it seems and it need not be pressed.<sup>1</sup> This use of the Old Testament is very strange to us, but it was common among the Rabbis and was almost expected of a Jewish writer. The extent to which Matthew relied on such methods for the proofs of the Messiahship of Jesus cannot now be determined, but, *if* he attached as much importance to these quotations as some of his more modern commentators would have us suppose, it is very remarkable that he should not have taken enough pains to make them correct. Even when correct, as they generally are, they are not always apposite. Only the words and certainly not the context of "Out of Egypt did I call my son"<sup>2</sup> apply to the journey of the Holy Family to the land of the Nile; while, again, a reference to the original Hebrew, as opposed to

<sup>1</sup> The English version avoids the difficulty by the use of a simple "that."

<sup>2</sup> This could hardly have been regarded as a Messianic text.

the Greek translation, disposes of the quotation from Isaiah, used by Matthew in support of the Virgin Birth.

All this is in marked contrast to the use of the Old Testament made by Jesus, who in quoting generally throws light, not only on his own words but on the text to which he refers—though it is entirely in accordance with the use made of it by the Rabbis of the day. This is well shown by the following quotation from Rabbinic Literature mentioned in *Gore's Commentary*.

"In Sifre, it is related that a certain Rabbi came into the house from the fields with his friends and called to his handmaid saying: 'Come wash our feet.' She poured out oil into a basin and washed their feet that it might be fulfilled which is written in Deut. XXXIII. 24, 'let him dip his foot in oil.'"

#### THE WITNESS OF LUKE

Luke is such a charming writer that criticism is disarmed. It is fascinating to watch him at work with Mark and with Q. He goes through every sentence, nearly always keeps the exact sense, makes but few changes, and yet, when he has done his work, beautiful Hellenistic Greek has taken the place of the market-place language of Mark and the Aramaicisms of Q. There is some loss of the vividness in Mark and of the freshness in Q; such losses are inevitable and, in Luke's skilful hands, they are astonishingly slight. When he does venture to alter the meaning, as in the story of Jairus's daughter in Mark, or that of the emissaries from the Baptist in Q, he does it by additions which, perhaps because of the very skill which marks the rest of the work, are easily detected.

Luke was a Greek and, as such, much nearer to us in thought than any Hebrew could possibly be; but, for that very reason, his interpretation of Hebrew thought needs to be carefully checked. He does not make enough allowance for Hebrew use of metaphor, and so is inclined to take literally what was intended to be figurative. To use his own phrase, he likes to have things "in

a bodily form." Like Matthew he favours the argument from miracles and sometimes sees miracles in his sources where more ordinary interpretations are possible. He has been careful to check his historical background but, even so, it is not always quite accurate. On scores of occasions he tells us just when and precisely to whom Jesus is addressing his words, although no such exact details are in his sources. He makes use of these additions as bridge passages to link up his narratives, and if these passages are withdrawn it is, in the first part of his book, astonishingly easy to recover the Mark, L and Q sections. Luke is to be regarded more as a literary artist than as a historian, in the modern sense.

Prof. B. H. Streeter has put forward a theory that Luke combined Q and L into one book (to be known as Proto-Luke) before he had seen a copy of Mark and that, therefore, the Marcan passages were fitted into a framework already prepared. Whether this be so or not, it is most reasonable to suppose that for those parts of his book which precede the central section, Luke combined his three sources Q, Mark and L without much alteration and, in the main, by the mere insertion of his bridge-passages. When, however, he reached the final phase of his story, he resorted to free composition. He himself had probably told the Passion story so often that he no longer found it necessary to be continually referring to his authorities. Moreover, for this part of his work, Q was no longer a guide, and he was himself in possession of a much fuller and more accurate record than the one in Mark. Mark, though certainly not deserted by Luke in this last phase, is used with greater freedom.

In this book we have throughout used the letter L to denote that part of the Third Gospel which is peculiar to it. The problem of the relationship of L to the complete work necessarily remains unsolved. How much of L did Luke himself write? If he was himself responsible for all the central Section (IX. 51—XVIII. 14) with its collection of parables, then our debt to him is immense. And this is a reasonable supposition; on the other hand, these parables may have been in Q. Since they do not occur in Matthew, this question can never be decided; the most that can be said is that it is possible to think of good reasons for Matthew's

omission of parables such as "The Good Samaritan"<sup>1</sup> and "The Prodigal Son,"<sup>1</sup> supposing that they originally stood in Q. At the same time, the section is so large, and so little of it can be definitely shown to belong to Q, that it is safer to assume that the bulk of it came from a source known only to Luke; in other words, that the parables of the Central Section once formed part of Q is a proposition which may be true, but cannot be proved.

---

<sup>1</sup> "The Good Samaritan" story would not be likely to appeal to as strong a Jew as Matthew must have been, and the lesson of the "Prodigal Son" is not easily harmonised with his scheme for the forgiveness of sins.

## CHAPTER IX

### OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECY

It is most unfortunate that both the words "priest" and "prophet" should be used in different senses but, since this is so, it is necessary to explain the different meanings of each and to make clear the use to which each is put in this book.

To take the easier one first, the word "priest" is derived, through the Latin, from the Greek word *πρεσβύτερος*. It is thus an abbreviated form of "presbyter"—elder. Wherever there are human societies united together for some common purpose, there are, and always must be, "elders"—men who by reason of their age, their experience or their ability, take the lead, act as spokesmen and are looked up to for advice and counsel. In the natural meaning of the word, these men are the priests of the community, but unfortunately that is not the sense in which the word is generally used. "Priest" is usually the equivalent to the Latin word "*sacerdos*" and to the *sacerdos* are accorded certain functions and often certain powers denied to other men. With this meaning, the priest may be defined as one who represents the people to God, and it is not a long step from that position to the next one wherein it is maintained that, without the priest, there can be no approach to the throne of God. This connotation is almost always to be detected whenever the word priest is used as the equivalent to *sacerdos*.

It is not difficult to show that the priestly parties have, generally speaking, been the enemies of the spirit of Christ before, during, and after the coming of Jesus of Nazareth. The priests were opposed to Amos and Hosea, to Micah and Isaiah, and, most of all, to Jeremiah. They persecuted them and did all in their power to stifle their messages. It was the priestly party of the Sadducees which was mainly responsible for the Crucifixion, though it is true that the priests were by no means alone to blame



in bringing about that supreme tragedy. It was sacerdotalism against which the reformers of the sixteenth century were arrayed, and it is still the enemy to-day.

When the word "priest" is used, therefore, it is important to make the distinction clear between "sacerdos" and "presbyter," and matters are certainly not improved by the prevailing custom in the Church of England whereby the word becomes indicative of an ecclesiastical *rank*—above the Deacon and below the Bishop. Moreover, misunderstanding of the word has probably a reflex action, and it is sometimes assumed that the clergyman, because he is the leader of his congregation and so is their "priest" or elder, is also endowed with some magical powers denied to the ordinary members of his flock. People inclined to think so should remember the words of Matthew—who assuredly was no enemy to ecclesiasticism—"Be not ye called Rabbi: for one is your teacher." (Matt. XXIII. 8).

If the word "priest" is ambiguous, "prophet" is almost more so. A prophet may mean one who pretends to foresee the future, or he may be one who has a message from God to his people. Such a message must be for the preacher's own time; otherwise it would be unintelligible and therefore useless. The predictor is a different class of person altogether from the prophet, and is usually a lower order of being, who extracts a living out of the credulity of simple folk. In very early times the same man might sometimes be both prophet and seer—an example is Samuel—but great men like Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah and Jeremiah will be misunderstood if they are classed with those who claim to foretell the future. Respectable people tended more and more, as time went on, to draw away from the seer, but although the prophet was often unpopular, it was because of his message, not on account of his character.

In the centuries immediately preceding the birth of Christ, prophecy, it is true, assumed a special form. Many people were expecting the Messiah, and certain texts in the Old Testament were regarded as referring to his advent and career. At this time the Old Testament was ransacked for texts which seemed to predict his birth, the course of his life, his functions and his character, and it is impossible for us, separated as we are by so

long a time-interval, to be certain as to the extent of those beliefs or in what sense they were generally held. It is therefore a matter of profound satisfaction that we have ample evidence of the attitude of Jesus himself towards the fulfilment of prophecy. As on other important points, we find that Jesus held different views from those of some of his followers, but one of the curious things about this aspect of the Gospel story is that though we need have no doubt whatever of the attitude of the Master, there is room for considerable difference of opinion as to the attitude of the New Testament writers themselves, from whom we derive all our evidence.

Before we turn to the records, we may fairly ask—what would be the most likely attitude of Jesus towards these prevalent beliefs in the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy? He might have turned away from them in disgust, as something altogether beneath his notice; but that is not the way really great men treat the beliefs of those with whom they are brought into contact. Again, he might have succumbed to their power. Finding these ideas of the expected Messiah ready to hand for his use, he might have set himself to satisfy the cravings of the people by becoming *their* Messiah on the terms indicated by their interpretation of the scriptures. This was the course which his political enemies supposed, perhaps quite honestly supposed, that he did adopt. This was the course which, unhappily for us, only too many of his friends not only expected him to take but thought that he had taken. This was nevertheless the course which Jesus rejected at the time of the Temptation when he set aside all thought of earthly kingship.

There was a third possibility. Jesus could make use of what was right and true in the current expectation and modify or reject what was false.

Let us now turn to the records and see what he did. The relevant passages are these:—

Mark VIII. 27-33 (Matt. XVI. 13-23; Luke IX. 18-22) refers to the Suffering-Servant passages in Isaiah:—

“And Jesus went forth, and his disciples, into the villages of Cæsarea Philippi: and in the way he asked his disciples, saying

unto them, Who do men say that I am? And they told him, saying, John the Baptist: and others Elijah; but others, One of the prophets. And he asked them, But who say ye that I am? Peter answereth and saith unto him, Thou art the Christ. And he charged them that they should tell no man of him.

“And he began to teach them, that the Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected by the elders, and the chief priests, and the scribes, and be killed, and after three days rise again. And he spake the saying openly. And Peter took him and began to rebuke him. But he turning about, and seeing his disciples, rebuked Peter, and saith, Get thee behind me, Satan: for thou mindest not the things of God, but the things of men.”

Mark IX. 11-13 (Matt. XVII. 10-13. See also Matt. XI. 14):—

“And they asked him, saying, The scribes say that Elijah must first come. And he said unto them, Elijah indeed cometh first, and restoreth all things: and how is it written of the Son of man, that he should suffer many things and be set at nought? But I say unto you, that Elijah is come, and they have also done unto him whatsoever they listed, even as it is written of him.”

This refers to Mal. IV. 5.

“Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the great and terrible day of the Lord come.”

The triumphal entry is related in all four Gospels and refers to Zech. IX. 9:—

“Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy king cometh unto thee: he is just, and having salvation; lowly and riding upon an ass, even upon a colt the foal of an ass.”

Luke IV. 16-20 refers to Isaiah LXI. 1-2:—

“And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up: and he entered, as his custom was, into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and stood up to read. And there was delivered unto him the

book of the prophet Isaiah. And he opened the book, and found the place where it was written,

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,  
Because he anointed me to preach  
good tidings to the poor:  
He hath sent me to proclaim release  
to the captives,  
And recovering of sight to the blind,  
To set at liberty them that are bruised,  
To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord,

And he closed the book, and gave it back to the attendant and sat down; and the eyes of all in the synagogue were fastened on him."

Isaiah LXI. 1-2 reads:—

"The spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound; to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord . . ."

John V. 39 and 46 refers to Moses:—

"Ye search the scriptures, because ye think that in them ye have eternal life; and these are they which bear witness of me. . . . For if ye believed Moses, ye would believe me; for he wrote of me."

Mark XII. 35-37 (Luke XX. 41-44) refers to the prophecy regarding David's son in the Psalms:—

"And Jesus answered and said, as he taught in the temple, How say the scribes that the Christ is the son of David? David himself said in the Holy Spirit,

The Lord said unto my Lord,  
Sit thou on my right hand,  
Till I make thine enemies the  
footstool of thy feet,

David himself calleth him Lord; and whence is he his son?"

Matt. V. 17 tells us that Jesus said he came to fulfil the law and the prophets:—

“Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destroy, but to fulfil.”

We will take the only doubtful passage first. This is Mark XII. 35-37, copied by Luke (XX. 41-44), and the quotation is from Ps. CX. 1:—

“The Lord saith unto my Lord, Sit thou  
at my right hand,  
Until I make thine enemies thy footstool.”

Now, not a few of the Psalms were regarded as Messianic, and certainly many of the words found in the Psalter (see especially Ps. XXII) apply with wonderful aptitude to the events of the Gospel story, but not everyone regarded it as essential that the Messiah should come from the house of David. These things changed with the political situation. During the time of the Maccabees, some Messianic writers transferred their hopes from Judah to Levi because the Maccabees belonged to that tribe. For a time some people even found in John Hyrcanus (c. 140 B.C.) a fulfilment of Messianic prophecy.

The later Maccabean Princes by their cruelty and degeneracy destroyed all hope of a Messiah from their house, and thoughts were again directed towards the restoration of the House of David.

These verses, Mark XII. 35-37, probably mean that Jesus attached no importance to Davidic descent, and such an interpretation fits in well with his general teaching on the subject of Messianic prophecy. Every Jew knew his Old Testament and everybody made use of quotations from it to illustrate, explain and correlate current events. Some people almost certainly *did* regard many passages as being Messianic—that is, predicative of the Messiah—but *there was no universal agreement as to which passages were and which were not Messianic*. In that there were passages which helped to explain his great mission, Jesus found these current ideas useful and he adopted them; in that there were

wide differences of opinion about them, so that much elasticity of interpretation was permissible, again he found them useful, but in so far as they pointed, as many of them did, in the direction of an earthly kingdom, he found them a great hindrance to his mission and he rejected them.

It amounts to this: Jesus selected, modified, rejected and adopted passages simply and always in accordance with his *own* ideas—"It was said to them of old time, but *I* say unto you" . . . He rejects some Messianic passages; he modifies others; some he adopts and, most important of all, there are others that he *creates*. We have clear instances of all these.

*Jesus rejects some Messianic passages.* Mark XII. 35-37 will not perhaps convince every reader though it is likely that Jesus here sets aside the Davidic descent. In this category, however, we have no need to search for special instances (though they can be found—John VI. 15, "Jesus, therefore, perceiving that they were about to come and take him by force, to make him king, withdrew again into the mountain himself alone"); one of the main ideas of the Messianic conception was radically wrong, for the universal expectation was for a King—a King whose first duty would be to free Israel from the yoke of the Romans. Nowadays, this point is so obvious and so well understood that there is no need for it to be elaborated, but it is of first-rate importance to realise that, with the disciples, it was not so. See especially Mark VIII. 33, where Peter is sternly rebuked because he was insisting on the earthly kingship of Jesus.

*Jesus modifies Messianic passages.* We can notice at least two directions in which Jesus allows himself complete freedom of interpretation: In Luke IV. 16-20 Jesus is reading from Isaiah LXI, but the interesting thing is that he stops short, "closes the book and gives it back to the attendant," just before he reaches the words, "and the day of vengeance of our God," which are *not* to be "fulfilled in their ears." In Isaiah it is, of course, the same day, but it is not the same day with Jesus. This might be called modification involving partial rejection. Jesus uses another kind of modification which is even more instructive. He re-interprets the ancient scripture. Malachi IV. 5 says, "Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the great and terrible day of

the Lord." In Matt. XI. 14 we find Jesus saying, "And if ye are willing to receive it, this is Elijah which is to come." "This" is John Baptist, and although the Baptist himself had, according to John, denied the equivalence, Jesus asserts that John the Baptist is Elijah, though he is afraid that the people will not be willing to receive such a "modernist" interpretation of the Scriptures. Perhaps they did not, for it is at a much later time (after the Transfiguration and just before the final march to Jerusalem), that the disciples asked him regarding this same prophecy, and received the same answer, Mark IX. 11-13, copied by Matthew (XVII. 10-13). Jesus therefore does not accept any literal view of the fulfilment of prophecy, but regards himself as at liberty to re-interpret and to allegorise. And it is only in this way that we can make any sense whatever of two other sayings of Jesus:

Matt. V, 17. "Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets; I came not to destroy but to fulfil." "Fulfil" here must mean "complete." The law and the prophets are pointers; they foreshadow Christ; they began his work and prepared the world for it. Christ therefore fulfils the law. This is the natural meaning of the words; that it is the only possible meaning is shown by the fact that Jesus himself broke the law, extended it and rejected it at will, though always preserving the good in it.<sup>1</sup>

Another reference of a similar character is John V. 39 and 46:—

"Ye search the scriptures, because ye think that in them ye have eternal life; and these are they which bear witness of me. . . . For if ye believed Moses, ye would believe me; for he wrote of me."

It must have been somewhat unusual<sup>2</sup> to hear Moses' writings referred to as Messianic. What can there be in the Pentateuch that has a bearing on Messianic prophecy? When we look for references we find Luke XXIV. 27 given:—

<sup>1</sup> This reference to the fulfilment of the law and the prophets is found only in M.

<sup>2</sup> Most scholars, to-day, regard the Fourth Gospel as a Theological Treatise and not a Historical Work. This passage is only included for the sake of completeness.

“And beginning from Moses and from all the prophets, he interpreted to them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself.”

This is appropriate, but what *Mosaic* passages can be found? The Reference Bible gives: Genesis III. 15; XII. 3; XVIII. 18; XXII. 18; XXVI. 4; XLIX. 10; Numbers XXI. 9; XXIV. 17; Deuteronomy XVIII. 15, 18, 19.

We will quote only one of these, Deut. XVIII. 15:

“The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken.”

This is by far the most appropriate and was intended by the writer (probably a follower of Jeremiah if not the great prophet himself) to be a promise from God that He will never leave His people without the guidance of a prophet. There is no special reference in the words to the coming of *the* Messiah.

The other references given have even less bearing on the subject of the Messianic hope, but afford examples of Rabbinic methods (see p. 209).

Next we come to what is, from some points of view, the most important instance of all. The triumphal entry into Jerusalem is mentioned by all four evangelists as the prelude to Passion Week: Mark XI. 7-10; Luke XIX. 35-38; Matthew XXI. 4-9; John XII. 12-15, and both Matthew and John refer to Zech. IX. 9:—

“Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem; behold, thy king cometh unto thee; he is just, and having salvation; lowly, and riding upon an ass, even upon a colt the foal of an ass.”

Now, this passage was probably regarded by everyone as referring to the Messiah, and Jesus deliberately fulfilled it by sending for the animal, and staging a spectacular entry into the capital. Why did he do this?

It is possible that, until quite recently, the importance of the last march up to Jerusalem, culminating in the triumph, has been underestimated. It would be easy, if we had only John's account,



to imagine it as a spontaneous, almost accidental, occurrence; but it cannot have been so. Jesus not only sends for the ass, but knows that it will be ready waiting for him. It is all pre-arranged; nor is it an isolated event. It is an integral part of a plan conceived on a large scale; the march up to Jerusalem, the triumphal entry, and then, perhaps, the beginning of a new age. A word must be said about each of these three parts of the plan:

After the confession of Peter, "Thou art the Christ," Jesus, who had been keeping clear of the jurisdiction of Herod Antipas, turned round and began a great march towards Jerusalem. Through Galilee (Herod's province) he passed silently, swiftly, *secretly*, but once in Peræa (which was politically part of Judæa) the preaching began again, and crowds were collected and led towards the capital.

This, then, was the first part of the plan, and it was obviously fraught with the greatest danger, not only to Jesus and his disciples but also to the nation. To understand what followed, and to be fair to the civil leaders in Jerusalem at the time, it should be recognised that this organised march of a large number of people must have seemed to constitute a threat to the existence of the state (see John XI. 48). Nevertheless, it constituted a far greater threat to the foundation of Christ's Kingdom. We are inclined to lose ourselves in admiration of the courage of Jesus in thus thrusting his head into the lion's mouth by putting himself within reach of the temple authorities (see John XI. 16) and to forget the far greater danger that he risked from the thronging multitudes. Already, once before, they had tried by force to make him a king. How was he to make it plain to all—masses and rulers alike—that his Kingdom was not of this world?

The answer provides the clue to the second phase of the great plan; this was the triumphal entry itself. The prophecy from Zech. IX. 9 is all-important. This was a well-known Messianic text which could be made to fit in with the Messiahship of Jesus in every respect. Therefore he adopted it. The ass was the symbol of peace. If Jesus had intended to lead the people in war against the Romans—and this was what was actually expected of him by the crowds and feared from him by the rulers—he would have ridden on a horse, the symbol of war. This act was intended

to proclaim himself a Messiah indeed, but a Messiah quite different from the one expected and longed for. Jesus offered himself as a King—King of a Kingdom not of this world. He offered the inauguration of a New Heaven and a New Earth, in which the Jews could and would have taken, under his leadership, the spiritual control of the whole world. But Jerusalem knew not the day of her visitation. Neither rulers nor people possessed enough courage and wisdom to seize the opportunity which thus passed away for ever.

Nevertheless, neither the misunderstanding of the people nor the obstinacy of the rulers could delay the coming of the Kingdom. The third act of the drama gave a cross, and not a crown, to the King; but the new era began. "He came unto his own, and they that were his own received him not. But as many as received him, to them gave he the right to become children of God" (John I. 11. 12). Although it would be a profound mistake to suppose that the rejection by the Jews of their Messiah was inevitable, it is certain that Jesus foresaw the rejection as being by far the most likely outcome of the march to Jerusalem, and, by repeated warnings, which fell on deaf ears, he had done everything possible to prepare the disciples for it. In doing so, he displayed, in a quite unmistakable manner, his fourth and, in some ways, most important method of dealing with Old Testament prophecy.

*Jesus sometimes creates a Messianic passage.* The now well-known "Suffering-Servant" passages from Isaiah were not regarded as having reference to the Messiah until Jesus applied them to himself. The disciples, as they tell us themselves, not only did not recognise these parts of Isaiah as Messianic, but they protested vehemently against their adoption by Jesus and, in spite of his plainest words, repeated again and again, refused to understand them until after the Resurrection. To this day, no Jew, unless converted to Christianity, accepts them as Messianic; they remain for ever "unto Jews a stumbling-block; and unto the Gentiles foolishness." When once the disciples had grasped their significance, as applied by Jesus to himself, they became one of the corner-stones of Christian doctrine. They thought of them so much that we, in this century, do well to be on our guard

against too free a use of them in connection with the Atonement. They exactly expressed what had really happened, but words are only symbols, and the truth lies deeper.

The servant-passages adopted by Jesus as Messianic from Isaiah are: XLII. 1-4; XLIX. 1-6; L. 4-7; LII. 13-LIII. 12; and they are so well known that it is not necessary to quote more than the two verses: LIII. 5 and 6:—

“But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed. All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.”

Originally all the passages related to the sufferings of the martyrs under Antiochus Epiphanes in the second century B.C.,<sup>1</sup> and to the eventual triumph of the nation under the Maccabees; but they suited the purpose of Jesus, so he created for them a Messianic interpretation.<sup>1</sup>

There can, thus, be little doubt as to the use Jesus made of these Old Testament prophecies. He rejected them or adopted them exactly as suited his own high purposes. They were in all things his servant and never his master. But if the attitude of Jesus is plain, that of some of the New Testament writers is not always clear. It is, however, quite possible to misunderstand and misinterpret these ancient writers by taking them too literally. It is not easy to determine the limits of allegorisation and of “modernising” which a Jewish writer of the first century would set himself. St. Paul used allegory and avowed it; moreover, he sometimes altered the wording of the Old Testament passages to suit his purposes. Apparently, exactitude was not demanded when quotations were made. As regards the four sources of the synoptic gospels M, Mk, Q and L, the matter stands thus:

In Q, there is nothing that reads strangely in references to the

---

<sup>1</sup> It is only the *suffering* that Jesus “adopted”; the *triumphant* servant was probably regarded as Messianic by many. The exact date of these passages hardly concerns the present discussion. They are placed in the second century by Dr. R. H. Kennett in “The Servant of the Lord,” to which book the reader is referred.

Old Testament, in Mk and L very little, but M seems to be full of these perplexing quotations. If they are to be taken at their face value, they are damaging, in modern eyes, to M as a witness, but the attempts to prove the Messiahship of Jesus by this means are so jejune in M that it is not unreasonable to suppose that the author, who was clearly a man of considerable intellect, never intended his Old Testament quotations to be so understood.<sup>1</sup>

In this matter, the Fourth Evangelist is much harder to follow, and it seems that he really attached some importance to the mere mechanical fulfilment of verbal prophecy. If so, it is perhaps the only question which St. John approaches at a lower level than the other witnesses, but the Fourth Gospel is outside our present investigation. If the attitude of Jesus has been made plain, the main objective has been reached and the attitude of others can be referred to and compared with that of the Master himself.

---

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter V.

## CHAPTER X

### ESCHATOLOGY

THE Eschatology of the New Testament presents a challenge to the modern reader which cannot be ignored. To grasp its full significance, a study must be made, not only of the works of the New Testament writers themselves but also of that group of numerous authors who were responsible for the Apocalyptic Books published during the last two centuries B.C. and the first A.D. Eschatology means "science of the last things" and an apocalypse is a "revelation." What was the meaning of these "revelations," so various in their details, so unanimous in their proclamation of the nearness and suddenness of the "end of the age"; and, above all, what did they mean to Jesus, and what had he to say about them? And what are we to think now of these speculations when nearly two thousand years have gone by, and still there is no "return on the clouds"?

Such questions cannot be ignored; they demand answers and, unless the Modern Christian is moderately certain what these things mean to him, he can never feel quite happy when he meets with the enemy in the gate.

Here is something in the nature of a test for this new critical apparatus—this division of our Gospels into their various sources. Can some kind of order be produced by its help, out of the apparent chaos? The test shall be applied, though on this matter more witnesses will be called upon than the four, M, Mk, Q and L, who stand behind our first three Gospels. St. Paul and St. John must also be introduced.

With these pointers to show the way, it should be possible to form a correct or, at all events, a sane and defensible opinion on this important matter, and to arrive at a reasonably safe estimate of the teaching of Jesus himself. But the task is not a light one, and it is only of recent years that scholars have been able to cut

a road through the jungle of false hopes and materialistic conceptions with which Jesus was obliged from the very first to contend.

It will simplify a very complicated matter to indicate the solution first and examine afterwards the obscurities with which it is overlaid. Jesus was dealing with two separate and distinct but somewhat interrelated issues and a whole circle of ideas flowing round them—a present judgment and a future consummation. Judgment is in the present: “he that believeth not hath been judged already.” Judgment lies in the awfulness of *choice*, here and now. He who chooses aright begins eternal life at once and “has passed out of death.” But this does not exclude the other event, the final completion and summing-up. The Apocalyptic hope is not a mere chimera; there is that “far-off Divine event, towards which the whole creation moves.”

Quite enough has been preserved in our records to leave no doubt in our minds that Jesus himself knew that the “event” was “far off.” The whole trend of his teaching is in that direction. He told the parable of the Nobleman<sup>1</sup> who went into a far country to such as “supposed that the Kingdom of God was immediately to appear” (Luke XIX. 11). In the parables of the Leaven<sup>2</sup> and the Seed Growing Secretly,<sup>2</sup> he made it clear that he had in mind a long process and not a sudden rending of the heavens. The Kingdom cannot come until all God’s children do his will. He bids us pray “Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done,”<sup>2</sup> thus indicating that the coming of the kingdom is dependent on man’s obedience to the will of God.

God is the Great Architect, and some day the parts which sometimes seem to us to be so disjointed will all be fitted together, the building will be finished, and “God will be all in all.”

These two beliefs—in a present judgment and an ultimate consummation—constitute an important part of the teaching of Jesus, but it was given forth at a time when the atmosphere was heavily charged with hopes of a different kind. It was almost inevitable that people whose minds were full of the cruder ideas

---

<sup>1</sup>Possibly Q.

<sup>2</sup>Certainly Q.

should colour the words of their Master with pigments from the palettes of these inferior artists. The picture soon became immensely complicated.

Confusion came from two different sources. The fall of Jerusalem took place in 70 A.D. This may or may *not* have been predicted by Jesus. Although the event was some forty years distant, it may well be that Jesus foresaw it. The signs were certainly not wanting in his day, and it is perhaps more astonishing that Jerusalem should have stood for another forty years than that she should ultimately have been destroyed by the Roman Power she defied. However that may be, there can be no doubt that accounts of the siege of Jerusalem, whether composed before or after the event, did get confused with references to the Judgment, present or future, made by Jesus Christ, and it is not always easy to disentangle the threads. The other cause of confusion had yet more devastating effects, and it is to be found in the minds of the disciples themselves. It is abundantly clear from their own confessions that, during the lifetime of their master, they were suffering from the apocalyptic delusion in an acute form. Although Jesus continually, and by no means unsuccessfully, turned their eyes towards higher and spiritual things, when it came to this apocalyptic hope their thoughts tended always to run along the lower lines of nationalism. They were warned, over and over again, but the delusion persisted; when the warnings were too plain to be altogether ignored and were, moreover, uttered in the presence of outsiders (Mark VIII.), they thought it their duty to protest against what they took to be a dangerous form of defeatism. On the way up to Jerusalem they were still so firmly persuaded that they were being led to a political triumph that two of them thought the moment opportune for demanding the chief places in the coming Kingdom. To men as blind as this, the Crucifixion meant the end of all things; the entire world built up by their extravagant hopes was laid in ruins at a blow. Yet they survived it; they emerged from the ruins, changed indeed, but apparently scathless and victorious. A cowardly band of followers, scattered to the four winds of heaven, became in a very short time a body of men willing to face torture and death for the sake of the truth that

was in them—men with whom their enemies were forced to reckon, against whom no mere policy of cold contempt and lofty indifference could prevail, and who were soon afterwards not inaptly described as “turning the world upside down.” It may indeed be, historically, a mistake to ascribe these powers to *all* the disciples. We hear very little about most of the twelve, but against this we have to set the gradual working of the Spirit among those of whom our records tell us nothing whatever, or, at best, give us only the vaguest hints. What we know for certain is that in a relatively short time there were Christians in every walk of life and in every province and city of the Roman Empire, and this calls for explanation.

Nor is the explanation far to seek; the Resurrection changed everything for the disciples. But good though this explanation may be—and it certainly does explain much—it will not cover all the ground; moreover, it raises a fresh crop of difficulties in place of the old ones. After all, it is most unusual for any man, still more for many men, to surrender a lifelong hope within the course of a few days, however great be the influence of the new factor suddenly introduced. These things take time—every thought and emotion has to be accommodated to entirely new surroundings—a new philosophy and a new language have to be learnt. Even St. Paul, who certainly cannot be regarded as a slow learner, speaks of fourteen years of preparation for his missionary work. Did the disciples begin theirs at once? It certainly reads (in the Acts) as though they did so, but a little further examination reveals the cause. That they began to work for Christ’s Kingdom at once need not be doubted, but they acted under precisely the same illusion as that under which they had been labouring before the Crucifixion. The form was changed, but the substance—if it be permissible to speak of the substance of an illusion—was the same as before. They could no longer believe that the march to Jerusalem before Passion Week would culminate in the triumph of Jesus over his enemies at home and the Romans abroad, because the result had proved to be totally different from their expectations, but instead of this belief they cherished another equally false. They believed quite literally that “this Jesus shall so come in like manner as



ye beheld him going into Heaven" (Acts I.)—words which, taken spiritually and figuratively, are as true to-day as when they were first spoken. Not content with that, they further proclaimed that Jesus had said: "this generation should not pass away until all these things were accomplished" (Mark XIII. 30). Yet that generation passed away, and many succeeding generations have passed away, and many of these things have not been accomplished. It seems, therefore, that Jesus must either have been mistaken or he must have been misinterpreted. Of these alternatives the second seems much the more likely to be true. Let us call upon our four witnesses, M, Mk., Q and L, and, for this purpose, Paul and John, and see what they have to tell us.

Q is the earliest of our witnesses, and is therefore the most likely to record the actual words of Jesus. There is a group of passages in Q, called Chapter 12 in our reconstruction, which deals with Eschatology. In it there is nothing about the return upon the clouds, but there is a most solemn warning of an awful choice. "The one shall be taken, and the other left," as in the days of Noah, and again in the days of Sodom and Gomorrah. It is true that such words may be taken literally, and if they are so taken, the chief difficulties remain, and the great stumbling-block is not removed, but remembering the characteristics of Q, we are bound to regard literal interpretations with suspicion when figurative ones are to hand. Are we to take the Temptation story literally, and believe that Jesus was in his body transported to the top of a mountain, from which the countries of the world could be seen in a moment of time, or to the Temple, to be bidden to cast himself down from the wing of that building? The case against a literal interpretation of Q's eschatology is really far stronger than this, for such an interpretation not only runs contrary to everything in Q, from the Temptation onwards, but is totally irreconcilable with the known teaching of Jesus. Let this also be noted: in other parts of Q the importance of the dreadful choice between Christ and anti-Christ is brought into prominence. It is one of the recurring themes of the book—as it is also of St. John's Gospel.

In St. John's Gospel, written towards the end of the first century A.D., when it was necessary for some readjustment to

be made in the expectation of an early return of Jesus, the *parousia*, as this return is called, has faded into the background, and a very strong feeling is borne in upon the reader that its place should be taken by the coming of the Comforter. Instead of a sudden catastrophe we are bidden to think of a long and slow world-process, a gradual advance towards "all truth," to be made by those who are willing to join in it. The last chapter in this Gospel is quite clearly added to dissipate any hopes of an *early* return of Jesus by contradicting a rumour that he had promised to come back before John's own death.

These two Gospels, then—the earliest Q and the latest John—are in agreement. Q gives the views of Jesus, and John represents a return to these views made by one who had had opportunity to reflect and to rid his mind of false accretions; but, in between these two, the spurious hope had time to grow, to wax very big, to decline again and to die away. These stages can all be marked in the New Testament; nevertheless it need not be supposed that throughout the time between Q and John (approximately fifty years) the truth was left without witness. We need not ignore the possible existence of followers of Jesus who, on some points of which this eschatological hope is one, understood their Lord as well as Q and John, and therefore considerably better than some whose names have reached us through the pages of the Bible.

Turning from Q to Mark we find a great difference in eschatology, one chapter, Mark XIII, is often called "The Little Apocalypse," for it is, in itself, a complete example on a small scale of one of these eschatological works. The whole chapter is put into the mouth of Jesus as though it were a speech, but it is difficult to resist the suggestion that it was once part of an independent work and was bodily incorporated in Mark's Gospel. "Let him that *readeth* understand" (verse 14) is not conclusive, but it certainly points in that direction. In verse 30, Jesus is reported as saying that *all* these things were to take place in the lifetime of "this generation."

We cannot attribute the chapter as it stands to Jesus, and we must assume that it was the kind of mistake to which some of the earlier disciples were prone. Matthew and Luke adopt the same

attitude and incorporate the Little Apocalypse in their own works. Where changes are introduced, they tend rather to accentuate than to diminish the cruder aspects of the apocalyptic hope.

When we come to the writings of St. Paul we find a most interesting piece of self-revelation. In the earlier Epistles, especially i and ii Thessalonians, the Apostle proclaims quite clearly his belief that the return of the Lord may be expected at any moment. The second Epistle to this Church was written about six months later than the first, and gives reasons for the delay in the *parousia*, but still regards it as almost imminent. In the later Epistles, a change is discernible in the writer's mind. In the earlier letters his teaching was "The *parousia* may be delayed, but I *think* it will come soon"; in the later ones it is "It *may* come soon, but I *think* not." There is, it is true, an awkward passage in Colossians (III. 1)<sup>1</sup> which seems to revive the language of former times. It may possibly be no more than a vestigial survival. Letter writers sometimes revert to language which was once commonly used by them, and it is at least certain that Paul shows a considerable change of emphasis in these later epistles as compared with Thessalonians. Paul provides a convenient bridge, in thought though not, of course, in time, between Mark on the one side and John on the other.

Although a thorough examination of the Johannine writings forms no part of the present investigation, it is impossible to leave the subject of eschatology without some mention of "the Apocalypse of St. John." This book, printed as the last in the Bible, was not readily admitted to the Canon of the New Testament, and from early times, as least as far back as Eusebius in the fourth century, its Apostolic authorship was disputed. It is extremely difficult to believe that it comes from the same pen as the Fourth Gospel, since not only in language, but in outlook, it differs widely from that book. The Book of Revelation—the Apocalypse, as it is called—is the only complete book of its kind in the New Testament, and stands in much the same relation to the Christian writings as does the Book of Daniel to the Old

---

<sup>1</sup> See also Phil. IV. 5. which may, however, not be intended as a reference to the *parousia*.

Testament. Both books were written to put heart into saints called upon to suffer martyrdom for their faith, to bid them stand firm and to offer them hope of a happy issue out of all their afflictions. The circumstances which called forth the Book of Daniel are well known. The work was published some time about the year 165 B.C., when the Jews were suffering severely at the hands of Antiochus Epiphanes; but there is some doubt as to the date of "The Revelation of St. John." It may have been written at the time of the persecution under Nero in the 'sixties, but most scholars place it nearer the end of the century in the reign of Domitian (81-96 A.D.). Clearly the author expected the early dissolution of the Roman Empire and the return of Jesus Christ to inaugurate the millennium. His expectations were not realised, but the book contains, in some very fine passages, truths which we do well to remember, and we have cause to be grateful to the Church for its preservation. It is clear, however, that these apocalyptic writings, immensely important though they are, demand great care on the part of their interpreters, and the only safe method of dealing with the extremely difficult question of eschatology is to get back through John and Q to Jesus Christ himself and to test all other works by continual reference to him.

#### SON OF MAN

The subject of eschatology covers a large field and involves a discussion of many books; it will be understood, therefore, that it cannot receive adequate treatment in a single chapter in which, of necessity, conclusions are more conspicuous than the reasons upon which they are based. In particular, it will be well to point out that if the metaphorical interpretation of Q Chapter 12 is rejected, the only effect will be to bring the author of Q more into harmony with Mark and into partial disagreement with John on this point. It is not necessary to suppose, with Dr. Albert Schweitzer, that Jesus himself was under any misapprehension. Lives of great men in every sphere of human activity lend parallels to similar misunderstandings on the part of their followers; men who are head and shoulders above their contem-

poraries are often mistakenly supposed to have shared the views of ordinary people of their time. The really great figures of history, although, in a sense, products of their age, rise above the conditions of time, and if this is so of other great men, it would be mere perversity to postulate a lower standard for Jesus of Nazareth. There is abundant evidence in our records to show that he made a right use of apocalyptic in all its phases. It is the biographers of Jesus Christ who need explanation.

There is, however, one very remarkable difficulty connected with the problem of eschatology and the subject cannot be dismissed without mention of it. In all the records, M, Mk, Q, L and Jn, Jesus speaks of himself as "Son of man," and, if we except Acts VII. 56, the title is never used by any other speaker (except as quoting Jesus). It occurs fourteen times in Mark and in John, and eight times in Q.<sup>1</sup> In the passage in Acts it is used by the dying St. Stephen and it is found nowhere else in the New Testament. Its absence from the Pauline Epistles is significant and it is difficult to believe that it was actually used by Jesus himself. At least, he can hardly have made use of it before the last phase, unless the confession of Peter at Cæsarea Philippi (Mark VIII) is to be deprived of all its meaning.

There remains another possibility that "Son of man" was not a well-known Messianic title but a phrase which could cover a great variety of meanings. After all, when it is first met with in the Bible, in Ezekiel, the prophet uses it as a synonym for himself. It comes, also, in Psalm LXXX, where it means a man made strong for God's own purposes. Even in the oft-quoted Daniel VII. 13, though "Son of man" is an eschatological term, it does not refer to the Messiah but to the saints of Israel, as opposed to the wild beasts representing the various empires of the Gentiles. Perhaps it is possible to pay too much attention to the extra-canonical writings, such as Enoch, in which the phrase is definitely Messianic. John IX. 36 (Who is he?) and XII. 34 (Who is this Son of man?) may be taken to imply a certain vagueness in the term.

Only one thing stands out quite clearly from what will always

---

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I.

remain an exceedingly obscure problem: the conception of Messiahship in the mind of Jesus differed profoundly from the current belief entertained by his disciples. He could not, therefore, have adopted, from the beginning, a definitely Messianic title, without throwing open the door to those very misconceptions which he took such great pains to reject. The whole story, as told by the Synoptics, is unintelligible if Messiahship is claimed before Cæsarea Philippi and, with the silence of St. Paul regarding the use of "Son of man," it becomes increasingly difficult to believe that Jesus himself ever used the title. The simplest hypothesis is that Q was the first to introduce it, that he did so because he found that the title satisfactorily explained his own Christology and that his choice of it depended partly, if not largely, on its vagueness. Such a hypothesis is, from the nature of things, incapable of proof, but it best explains all the facts.

Once account for its presence in Q and the rest is explicable; Matthew and Luke would naturally seize on it and make an extensive use of what would seem to them a strong support for their own views of eschatology. On any hypothesis, unless the title Son of man could be deprived of all, or nearly all, its Messianic connotation, Mark's use of the term will present a grave difficulty, for he puts it into the mouth of Jesus as early as Chapter II and then recounts the incidents of Cæsarea Philippi in Chapter VIII.

## CHAPTER XI

### MIRACLES

ALTHOUGH it can hardly be maintained that a belief in what are called miracles is incompatible with a knowledge of natural law, there is no doubt that the progress made in physical science during the last hundred and fifty years has considerably increased the difficulty felt by many people in accepting the wonder stories in the Bible. It is well to be quite clear on this point, because it is only a very superficial observer who would be content with a negative attitude and would attempt to defend his position by an appeal to science. The scientist is not the final arbiter in such matters; it is his duty to observe and correlate facts. If, for instance, it were to be stated that prayers had produced a thunderstorm, the scientist would be in no better position to prove or disprove such an assertion than anyone else. His knowledge, based on wider observation, might possibly enable him to suggest other causes for the storm but, if the prayer of any man always produced thunderstorms, the scientist would, sooner or later, be compelled to admit prayer as one of the physical causes of disturbances in the atmosphere. Nor is any scientist in a position to state that since an alleged occurrence—such, for example, as the raising of a dead person—has never happened in man's experience, it never could happen.

Yet it remains true that, with an increase in our knowledge of the laws of nature, there has come an increased reluctance to admit the validity of miraculous experiences. Why is this? The answer is twofold; in the first place this increase in knowledge has removed many occurrences from the realm of the ordinary and therefore easily believable into that of the most extraordinary and therefore less credible. A simple example will make this clear. Many people believe to-day that the direct rays of the sun will put out a coal fire. They find no difficulty in

holding this belief and are quite willing to support it by examples drawn from their own experience. Now, anyone who has been trained as a scientist finds it extremely difficult to believe that the sun puts out a fire. Knowledge in this instance begets scepticism, and other causes are sought to account for the evidence given by those who think that they have frequently observed the phenomenon. The argument shifts from the physical to the psychological plane. Of course, if the sun really did put out fires, the scientist would set himself to task to discover the process by which the extinction was performed, and doubtless the entire methods of fire brigades would soon undergo a revolution, but so far the scientist is content to say that the observers have been mistaken. When the sun rises the stars disappear, for though they continue to give forth their light, the eye fails to perceive it when it is flooded by the far greater illumination of the sun, so also the brighter light of the sun's rays deceive people into thinking that the coal fire is moribund.<sup>1</sup>

So we come to the second consideration. A growth of the scientific spirit has led to a much closer scrutiny of evidence. In the twentieth century we know better than was generally known in the first how extremely easy it is to be deceived by evidence; and this, too, without the smallest suspicion of bad faith. It is very difficult for anyone to make a true record of his own experiences. Evidence has to be sifted again and again and, after all is done, allowance must be made for a wide margin of human error.

The development of the scientific spirit has therefore brought about this double change in our attitude towards stories of wonder. First, stories which presented little or no difficulty to those who among whom they originated have become very much harder to accept; and secondly, we have grown far more critical of the evidence put forward on their behalf. As an offset to this, how-

---

<sup>1</sup> Since this chapter was written, the author has been informed that some scientists think that the popular belief with regard to the sun and fires may be true after all. The arguments put forth in its favour are not very convincing and the weight of opinion is still heavily on the other side. How difficult it is to decide what is a miracle!



ever, there is a weight to be put into the other scale. The advance of knowledge has made us more wary of putting bounds to possibility. Things happen to-day which would have seemed impossible yesterday, and the doubt of the sceptic is itself made the subject of scepticism. But, while this is true, it must not be forgotten that in so far as the evidential value of an alleged miracle depends on the preternatural element it contains, this value diminishes just in proportion as the credibility increases.

This brings us to the crux of the whole matter. It is not the credibility or otherwise of the wonder-stories in the Bible that matters so much as the use made of them. Whether things did really happen as they are related, whether reconstruction and reinterpretation are permissible or even necessary, and if so, how far such reconstructions should go, are fit subjects for those whose duty it is to sift and examine the evidence; but when conclusions affecting the vital interests of us all, both in this world and in the next, are based upon them, then we are entitled not only to insist that the foundations are firm, but also that the superstructure is of the kind capable of resting on those particular foundations. It is quite possible to admit gladly that Jesus of Nazareth possessed powers of healing which he used, as he used all his other powers, for the good of mankind, but it is a very different matter to assert that he was the Son of God because he possessed those powers. Premise and conclusion do not belong to the same universe of discourse. Moreover, the argument at the same time proves too little and too much; too little in that the exhibition of power proves only the existence of power, and it was not necessary for mankind to await the revelation of the Son of God to learn that God is powerful. And the argument proves too much in that it would make out every wonder worker to be the Son of God. "By whom do your sons cast them out?"

To-day there is no unanimity on the question of miracles, either among scholars or among leaders of the various Christian societies. It would be possible to quote authority for almost every shade of belief or disbelief, and the layman has a right to know that a wide discretion is allowed. Such toleration is altogether right and should be taken to indicate the relative

unimportance of a question which has occupied too much attention in the past.

If, for the moment, we assume that the followers of Christ may be divided into two groups, members of the one accepting and of the other rejecting the miraculous element in the Gospel story, then those in the first group may well be asked not to surrender their beliefs but to read each story with this question only in mind—what does this *mean*?, while those in the other group may perhaps take comfort from the attitude of Jesus himself as revealed by an examination of our Four Witnesses.

The first point brought to light by a comparison of M., Mk., Q and L, is the fatal ease with which people from the early days of Christianity fell into error.

Matthew, Mark and Luke all imply, if they do not assert, the validity of the argument from signs<sup>1</sup> and wonders. Fortunately, these three can be corrected by careful comparison with Q<sup>2</sup>, and with Q's evidence before us it is possible to gain fresh confidence as to the views of Jesus himself even from the pages of M., Mk. and L.

Q is unmistakable. There are no miracles in it except the healing of a dumb man with which the Beelzebub controversy is introduced, and this is used by the author—presumably also by Jesus himself—to make two important points, both of which tell strongly against the abuse of miracles. The first is—"if I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your sons cast them out?"—a question which implies that the powers claimed and possessed by Jesus were not *sui generis*, but shared, at least in some degree, by other men. And the second point is this—"if I, by the finger of God, cast out devils, then is the kingdom of God come upon you." "By the finger of God" is an Old Testament phrase, and implies that the power is God's, and he will lend it to men who are obedient to his will—allow them

<sup>1</sup>The first three Evangelists do not use the word "sign" in this connection. They speak of "powers" (*δυνάμεις*) but they go perilously near treating them as "signs." See below p. 243.

<sup>2</sup>In spite of obvious difficulties of interpretation, it is by no means impossible to claim for John a place by the side of Q, but it is not the object of this book to introduce the Fourth Gospel, except where mention of it cannot be avoided.

to be his finger. The implication, again, is that others may share this power as well as Jesus, or the conclusion would have been, not "The Kingdom of God is come nigh," but "I am the Son of God." We may be quite certain that if the conclusion in Q had been in that sense or anything like it, neither Matthew nor Luke would have passed it by, for they both make as much as they can out of the miraculous elements in the stories they tell. Q, on the other hand, puts in the forefront of his Gospel the story of the three Temptations which must have come from Jesus himself. The third (in Luke, second in Matthew) deals with this problem of miracles, and it should have settled the matter for ever. It is a suggestion of the Devil that Jesus should make use of his powers to gain the allegiance of men. The answer of Jesus is that goodness must be recognised *without* power—in the cradle and on the cross—the good, when successful and strong, will find no difficulty in winning followers, but in time of tribulation and temptation, many will fall away.

Then again, also in Q, we are given the answer to those who would see a sign. No sign shall be given except the sign of Jonah,<sup>1</sup> for at the preaching of Jonah the Ninevites repented. Q thus leaves us in no doubt of the opinion of Jesus as to the evidential value of signs and wonders. This is not, of course, equivalent to denial of the historicity of the events themselves. The miracles in the New Testament may or may not have happened; whether they did or not is a matter for the historian and for the psychologist. It is the use to which they are sometimes put that is so dangerous, and against which we must be continually on guard. Belief in Christ should not be placed on any such foundation, and Q has made it abundantly clear that in this matter we have all the weight of the authority of Jesus himself.

When, therefore, we turn to our other witnesses and find the opposite opinion sometimes implied—it is hardly ever, if ever, openly avowed—the only reasonable conclusion to reach is that these other witnesses are expressing their own beliefs, and not those of Jesus. Matthew and Luke have given us quite unmistakable evidence of their own attitude. They both make it

<sup>1</sup>This is the only passage in Q where the word *σημεῖον* (sign) is used. It may be that some special Messianic sign was sought.

clear that they attach value to signs and wonders: sometimes they even insist on them when the source books upon which they rely point the other way. Both Matthew and Luke see a raising of the dead in the revival of Jairus's daughter, although Jesus himself has asserted that she was not dead. Matthew reduces the Sign of Jonah argument to an absurdity by his reference to the three days in the tomb, although this argument is again that of Jesus himself. Luke inserts his miracles into the Q passage about the question of John's disciples and lessens its value. Moreover, even if we were completely deprived of Q, we should not be left without hints of the real Jesus, though admittedly, if we were obliged to depend on M, Mk. and L, without Q, the matter would be full of obscurity. Mark, who certainly is not averse from signs and wonders, yet tells us that Jesus often imposed a vow of silence on those who were healed by him. Why should this be, if it were not that Jesus feared just that misuse of miracles which he had set aside in the Temptation as a devilish suggestion?

Another difficulty in the records is often ignored by those who still attach evidential value to miracles—if Jesus went about displaying these tremendous powers, how was it possible for anyone to ask him for a sign? In John's Gospel this difficulty is particularly glaring, because a sign is demanded by those very people who have, apparently, just witnessed such a stupendous miracle as the multiplication of the loaves and fishes. This really compels us to seek for some more natural explanation of the wonder that has just been related, but once more let it be emphasised that this is a matter for the historian. Our belief in Jesus Christ must never be allowed to depend on the evidence for or against the multiplication of loaves and fishes.<sup>1</sup>

One other incident, related by Mark and copied by Matthew and Luke, needs special mention. It is the very beautiful story (Mark II. 1-12; Matthew IX. 2-8; Luke V. 18-26) of the paralytic to whom Jesus first said, "Thy sins are forgiven thee,"

---

<sup>1</sup> The "signs" of the Fourth Gospel present us with a problem of a totally different character, and one which cannot be considered in this book. Explanations of these "signs" can be found, but the author may not have intended the stories to be taken literally.

and then, "take up thy bed and walk," and it clearly shows that *Mark* believed that Jesus's miraculous powers were an indication of his authority to forgive sins. In view of what we know about Jesus, however, it would be impossible for us to accept *Mark's* opinion on such a point, and we are bound to search for a more natural interpretation of the story. The paralytic was sure that his impotent state was due to his own sins. In that, perhaps, he was right, but he was wrong in regarding God as a cruel task-master who exacted pains and penalties from a fully repentant sinner. God has given "power and commandment to His ministers to declare and pronounce to His people being penitent the absolution of their sins," and Jesus made use of this power.

Repentance, however, is not produced by an exhibition of miraculous power. "They have Moses and the Prophets, let them hear them," and if they will not, "neither will they be persuaded if one rise from the dead." (Luke XVI. 31.)

It should be realised that if by miracle is meant an occurrence outside and beyond or contradictory to the laws of nature, no one could possibly recognise such a phenomenon even if it were to take place under his very eyes. We do not know all the laws of nature. It is in the experience of our own time that what seemed impossible yesterday is commonplace to-day. Before anyone could assert that a given occurrence was preternatural, he would have to be in possession of a complete knowledge of Nature. Such knowledge is God's alone, and is not given to mere man. It is largely for this reason that a scientist, speaking as a scientist, is unable to assert that miracles could not have happened, but the same inhibition also deprives miracles, however well attested, of their evidential value.

An examination of Palestinian literature of the first century does not lend much support to the seekers after signs, for it seems that even the Rabbis attached little importance to them. Belief in miracles was certainly never imposed as a test on his followers by Jesus himself, and our theological position to-day ought not to be based on a foundation liable to attack from the psychologist or historian.

Physical science has produced a cautious and critical attitude and it has done no more, but the comparative method of historical

presentation has had a devastating effect upon the miraculous elements in the Bible, New Testament as well as Old. This method consists in presenting us with many stories which, although similar to those of the Bible, have absolutely no claim to credence.

Where is the line to be drawn? And not only where, but when? At what stage in the history of the Christian Church did miracles cease? If they are admitted in the Gospel story, they cannot be eliminated from the Apostolic age, and there is similar evidence for them in sub-Apostolic and indeed in all subsequent times down to the present day. If we place implicit confidence in the records, then miracles must be accepted, but this again does not involve the conclusions so often drawn from them. On that point we must follow the leading of the Master and not of the disciples, and the lead is unmistakable. Only an evil generation seeks a sign, and no sign shall be given.

*δύναμις, τέρας, σημεῖον*

In the text of the New Testament, two words are of frequent use in connection with miracles and a proper understanding of them takes us some way towards a solution of the problem. *δύναμις* (= power) is used three times by Mark, eleven times by Matthew, fourteen times in Luke—Acts and is a favourite with Saint Paul. Only one of these is a Q passage (Q Chapter 9), and the word never appears in the Fourth Gospel. Under certain conditions, one of which was the faith of the patient, Jesus was able to cure bodily ailments. Mark's narrative makes it plain that he was by no means always able to work these cures and Q (Chapter 9) gives us the clue to the proper theological use to be made of them. God works the cures; Jesus is able to set free the pent up forces of nature and, through mental processes, bring about beneficial physical changes. The recipients of these benefits are to accept, with thankfulness, what God does for them. This is the correct use of *δυνάμεις*. Unfortunately, Matthew, Mark and Luke all sometimes imply a different use. They virtually turn *δυνάμεις* into *σημεῖα* (signs). They are "signs," but they

are not proofs of Messiahship. In the minds of these Evangelists, however, the faith-cures effected by Jesus are proofs of his Divine mission instead of signs of God's mercy toward men. The Fourth Evangelist never uses *δυνάμεις* and always calls his miracles *σημεῖα*; therefore, *if that author is to be taken literally*, his attitude is in marked contrast both to Q and to Mark.

It should perhaps be mentioned that a third word *τέρας* also sometimes appears when New Testament writers are dealing with miracles. *τέρας* means "wonder" or "portent," and only occurs in the plural and never without *σημεῖα* "signs and wonders." Its occurrences are perhaps significant: there are only two passages in the Gospels where use is made of *τέρατα*. One of these is Mark XIII. 22 (copied by Matthew XXIV. 24), where it is a quotation from Deut. XIII. 1-3 and the other is John IV. 48, where it is used deprecatingly ("except ye see signs and wonders").

## CHAPTER XII

### THE ATONEMENT

THE problem presented by the existence of evil in the world is insoluble, yet everyone, in his own way, must make an attempt to find a solution. If this is a paradox, as in some sense it is, it must be remembered that life itself is paradoxical and that the experience of evil is a part of life. We cannot discover the whole truth, but we are not, therefore, absolved from the necessity of discovering all we can. Since the problem of evil touches the mystery of life at every point, it is scarcely a matter for wonder that each, with his varied experience, finds inadequate the attempts of other people to deal with it; nor is it likely that any single exposition of the doctrine of the Atonement will prove entirely satisfactory.

The Atonement represents an attempt here on earth to reconcile the Justice and the Love of God, on the one hand, with the known facts of human existence on the other. It will probably be found necessary for each succeeding age to seek out some restatement of the doctrine—and this ought to cause neither astonishment nor alarm: the problem must continually be faced anew and no solution can claim to embrace all the truth. No one is in a position to speak with authority, and it should be clearly understood that what follows in this chapter is the thought of one man only. If it is found to be in any sense satisfactory, if it proves to be of the least help to others in the formulation of their own beliefs on this most perplexing of all problems, its purpose will have been achieved. Since it does not give complete satisfaction to its author, this attempted solution is hardly likely to be entirely acceptable to any reader, but the problem of evil is so insistent that it is better to have an admittedly insufficient answer than none at all.

Borrowing a metaphor from Mathematics, it may be said that truth is an asymptote towards which our attempts at solution



may continually approach though, under finite conditions, never actually reach. The most, therefore, that can be expected is that our feet shall be set on a path along which, as we advance, the light seems rather to increase than to diminish, and this is precisely what Christianity has always claimed to do for us. It has been the glory of our religion that by it we have been urged not to ignore or explain away but to face and to conquer the ugly facts of life. In a sense, therefore, we want nothing new in our statements of the Atonement. The need is for restatement not destruction, and that need is great.

Certain modes of expression which seem to have caused no hindrance to our ancestors are utterly repugnant to modern minds, and it will be well to set them forth at the outset. It must not, however, be supposed that the old views were false. The truth embodied in these now worn-out formulas is tremendous, and this chapter will fail of a large part of its purpose if that is forgotten, but the formulas themselves must be completely changed. The choice of the language used by great thinkers such as St. Paul and St. John when they contemplated the stupendous sacrifice of the Cross does indeed present us with a problem, but it is relatively a small one and perhaps not incapable of solution. What matters now is that we should rid ourselves altogether of language which implies any of those ideas which have become misleading and which, uncorrected and misunderstood, repel from Christianity those who should be attracted.

There are three of these repellent modes—interdependent, not mutually exclusive—which must be entirely abandoned if we are to arrive at commendable and intelligible forms. Everything which seems to savour of a *transaction* between two Persons of the Trinity has long ceased to be a help in the understanding of the Atonement. In some mysterious way, never properly understood, the entire race of man and every individual member of it was supposed to be so much involved in the fall of Adam that merely to be born into this world was to be placed in a position of hopeless indebtedness to the Almighty—so hopeless, that no ransom could be found until God the Son agreed to provide one by his own sacrifice. This view has been specially

commended to English readers by Milton's *Paradise Lost* (in *Paradise Regained* the poet gives a better picture both of the truth and of his own view of it). In mediæval times, when this was the prevalent view of the Atonement, it was by no means clear to whom the ransom was due, but, for about a thousand years, the orthodox opinion was that it was paid to the Devil. Any Atonement theory which involves a ransom, to whomsoever due and however paid, cannot offer a complete or satisfactory solution of the problems with which we are dealing.

The entire conception is theologically unsound, but even when the words "*transaction*" and "*ransom*" have been abandoned, there remains a further heresy. *Vicarious sacrifice*, the substitution of one for another, the good bearing punishment only justly meted out to the guilty—all this, too, must go. A human judge who laid the sins of the guilty upon the innocent would not and could not be held worthy of his office; nor does the willingness of the good to suffer for the bad in the least remove the difficulty. Nor, again, will it suffice to say that God's Justice is not as Man's Justice. God, at least, is not *lower* than man. No language which implies such crude ideas of vicarious sacrifice should be tolerated, without much fuller explanation of its meaning than is often given by those who make use of it. That behind this there lies an important truth, is one of the objects of this chapter to show, but to say that God *punishes* the innocent for the guilty is to blaspheme against his Name and to blunt the sense of justice which God himself has implanted in man.

Both of these two modes—that which speaks of a *transaction* and a *ransom* and that which involves *vicarious punishment*—are false and misleading because they involve, are founded on, and grow out of, the third heresy, which is that of supposing that God can change. God is always willing and always able to forgive the sins of man—on one necessary and sufficient condition. Repentance, involving confession, contrition and amendment is followed by God's forgiveness. This has *always* been so and nothing that man has done or could do has altered it. God has been ready to forgive, but man has found it hard to repent. No other condition for forgiveness is ever laid down by Jesus Christ, though it is indeed added that we cannot hope for

forgiveness for our own sins if we are not willing, on the same terms, to forgive our neighbours. If anyone cares to regard that as an additional condition for forgiveness, he is at liberty to do so; most people will agree that it is impossible to be truly repentant of one's own sins without being willing, freely and absolutely, to forgive a repentant brother who has also sinned. "To err is human, to forgive divine," and doubtless it was in order to reveal and develop this divine element in man that Jesus was so insistent on our being willing to forgive each other. How, then, can God be different? If man can forgive freely, how can God demand the blood of a victim? That man *can* so forgive is a matter of almost universal experience; so true is this that there are few men who can resist the appeals of the truly repentant. Our difficulty in dealing with each other is that of testing the genuineness of the repentance, a difficulty from which an all-knowing God is necessarily free.

It will probably be urged that although this simple doctrine of Divine forgiveness seems to cover all the teaching of Jesus on the subject, yet there are passages of scripture that seem to go beyond it. This is true, but it must be borne in mind that the New Testament writers of necessity made use of the language of their time. They, like everyone else before and after them, found the greatest difficulty in explaining what they really believed to be the truth in these matters, and they continually had recourse to the use of simile and metaphor. Now, the market-place and the law courts were the two public places most familiar to people living in the cities of the ancient world, and it was to the market-place and the law courts that writers like St. Paul naturally turned when they wished to explain what had happened to them in their own immediate experience. It may well be doubted whether St. Paul and St. John ever intended their words to be taken literally; but, in so far as they did, we are justified in refusing to follow them. We are more than justified, for we must follow Jesus and not St. Paul, nor would St. Paul himself have had it otherwise.

What the New Testament writers were expressing was the truth as they saw it, and that does not differ very much from the truth as we see it to-day; but it would be idle to deny that

between their day and ours opinions have been held by the Church which are frankly impossible now. Even in allowing so much, however, it is important to remember that the best in every age is not necessarily the most persistently proclaimed; and it may well have been that throughout even those centuries known as the Dark Ages there were scholars here and there who knew the true doctrine.

A great deal of misconception can be cleared away in a single sentence. Suffering is not the same thing as punishment. Every one of us must suffer for the mistakes of other people; it does not in the least follow that punishment is borne by any save the guilty. Strictly speaking, there is only one form of punishment, and that is estrangement from God, and this punishment ceases automatically when man is reconciled to God and a state of at-one-ment is restored. Suffering on behalf of other people, so far from driving the sufferer away from God, has precisely the opposite effect. A lover does not regard it as a punishment if he is called upon to suffer on behalf of the loved one; the one thing he cannot bear is separation in spirit.

Although it will be necessary to return, at a later stage, to an examination of the teaching of Jesus himself on the matter of Divine forgiveness and also of the various views of Christian theologians, enough has now been said to clear the way for the modern approach to the problem of the Atonement, and it will best be made along the lines of history. It is not necessary to extend our view beyond Palestine for, in this as in other theological matters, the Hebrews explored the ground more thoroughly than did any other people. Hence, although many other important books touch upon the problem of evil, it is in the pages of the Bible that the whole history of man's search after a solution can best be traced.

At first the search was made along very simple lines, and for many centuries men seem to have been satisfied with the doctrine that God always punished sins here and now in this life. All suffering, according to this view, was to be regarded as proof of God's disapproval. If man did what God required of him, all would be well with him in this world. In very early times, this doctrine was easy to believe because God was thought of as

being chiefly, if not exclusively, interested in the forms and ceremonies of worship. He was not regarded as taking much account of man's social conduct. At least, this was the belief among the common people of all races, but doubtless, in Palestine, there were, from the time of Moses onwards, some who took a different, higher and more modern view. These more thoughtful people found voices in the great prophets of the eighth, seventh and sixth centuries B.C.—Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah and Jeremiah—who, one and all, proclaim that God's only requirement is moral rectitude.

Even in the eighth century, however, we find Amos writing as if he fully shared contemporary belief in the connection between sin and suffering. He calls on Israel to repent and his teaching seems to imply that if the nation returned to God, the threatened calamity would be averted. And this Book of Amos reveals to us the second reason for the belief in suffering as being always caused by God's displeasure. The unit was the nation, the tribe or the family; never, in this early time, the individual. The doctrine works much more easily with a large unit. Ahab sins—and apparently prospers—but calamity falls on his sons and his grandsons.

Then came Jeremiah<sup>1</sup> with his insistence on the worth in God's eyes of each individual soul, and the whole problem had to be faced anew; but so deeply ingrained was the simple doctrine which equated all suffering with punishment that it seemed to be perfectly natural to apply this old solution, without modification, to the individual. If all went well with a man, his prosperity was proof that God was pleased with him. He must therefore be a righteous man. If misfortune overtook anyone, then it was clear, according to this doctrine, that he was being punished for his own misdeeds. As all are sinners, the theory accounted well enough for most of the mishaps in life; the real difficulty was to account for the apparent prosperity of the transparently wicked. Psalm LXXIII. is an outstanding example of an attempt to bring experience into conformity with what was then the orthodox opinion. If, as many features of this

---

<sup>1</sup> Jer. XXXI. 30.

Psalm indicate, the author was writing in the second or third century, he ought really to have known better than to suggest that the answer to the riddle was that the feet of the wicked are set in slippery places so that a fall always comes before life is ended.

It must never be forgotten that no Old Testament writer before the Second Century had any belief in life after death unless the shadowy existence in Sheol, the Hebrew equivalent to the Greek Hades, be considered as life. There was no belief in judgment such as we find in Egypt, so that, for the all-important problem of sin and punishment, the eyes of all the Old Testament writers, psalmist and prophet alike, were bounded by the grave.

The problem is, in one sense, enormously simplified if the life hereafter can be introduced to redress the balance of what seems wrong in the life here and now. Yet we have benefited greatly from the strange tardiness with which the Hebrews arrived at belief in immortality. The Book of Job could never have been written by anyone enlightened with the hope of immortality,<sup>1</sup> and Job is one of the world's most important and most beautiful books. The author uses what was probably an ancient and well-known story to contrast common experience with the then accepted and still all too popular belief. In his book it is shown that God permits a good man to suffer all kinds of undeserved misfortune, and that, too, without the slightest hope of ever being able to understand the cause of his sufferings. It is furthermore maintained that there are instances of a wicked man retaining his prosperity right to the end of his days without being brought to justice by God or man. The author has no solution of the mystery to offer us, but he tears away the veil which a comfortable orthodoxy had thrown over the ugly truth, and reveals the awful problem of human suffering. This was necessary work, and it is hardly less needed now than when

---

<sup>1</sup> Job XIX, 25, in spite of the Authorised Version and in spite of the use made of it in the Burial Service, is not an exception to the rule that there is no reference to any life after death other than that in Sheol. In the Hebrew, the actual words of this verse are hardly intelligible, for the text is corrupt, but *all* suggested emendations make it clear that the reference is to *this* life—"in my flesh", "*before* worms . . ." The verse is probably a marginal comment made by some reader who has been shocked by the outburst of the preceding passage.

this unknown writer was composing his immortal poem.<sup>1</sup>

It is usual to suppose that Job is merely negative but, although it is true that the author does not even pretend to have found a solution to the main problem, he does make one substantial contribution that must find an important place in any philosophic scheme. In the Book of Job, the Satan (counsel for the prosecution) asserts that man's service of God is always selfish and interested. "Doth Job fear God for nought?" is the taunt, and, if it cannot be answered, humanity must stand convicted as a failure in creation, and all true morality and service of God are at an end. Satan's challenge must never be forgotten; it is, as we shall see, the triumph of Christianity that it was taken up and answered.

The Book of Job itself supplies part of the answer; or, if that be too great a claim for the author, he at least defies the Satan, for, in spite of the urgings of his wife and the arguments of his comforters, Job refuses to "renounce God and die;" and part of the interest in the drama is provided by his resistance to this temptation.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the peculiar contribution of Christianity to the baffling problem of evil and suffering, it may be well to examine with a little greater fullness and a little more sympathy these earlier attempts to find a solution. Even though we are fully convinced by the author of Job of the intrinsic falseness of the simple assumption that God punishes wickedness by misfortune in this life, yet the ideas which apparently satisfied thoughtful men for so long are not wholly without value, and such truth as they contained must be preserved and brought to fullness in the Christian doctrines after which we are searching.

First, then, as regards the larger unit of the family, tribe or nation. Individualism—each soul being responsible for its own conduct—is true enough in its way, but it is only a part of the truth. There is such a thing as corporate responsibility, and it is a simple and universal element in our experience that society

---

<sup>1</sup>Copybook maxims like "honesty is the best policy" hardly correspond to our experience of life; they certainly do not represent the best teaching of Christianity.

as a whole suffers from the defects and benefits from the merits of the individuals composing it. No one can live to himself in this world, and it is quite clear that God meant that this unity of corporate life should be fully realised by each one of us. The point need not be elaborated, but it must be firmly postulated that no solution of our main problem can be satisfactory if it fails to give due weight to the responsibility of the individual towards the society of which the individual is the unit.

Then, again, either with the individual or with the larger group of family or nation, there really is some relation between deeds and reward. "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." A law of cause and effect prevails to some extent over the whole of man's experience of this world. The mistake lies in supposing that the material universe is, as it were, a true reflection of the spiritual; and the mistake of the ancients, before the time of Job, lay just there. Their sacramentalism was primitive: they supposed that it was God's duty, as Divine Ruler, to see to it that material prosperity, or its reverse, was a true index of man's spiritual condition. Perhaps, in a sense, it should be so. At least we may say that a well-ordered community of human beings is governed on those lines. The laws of our land are designed to give freedom and power to the good citizen and to restrain the activities of the bad; but human laws are never perfect and—what is of far greater importance—make no pretence to cover the whole of life. Their object should be to ensure the maximum of liberty to each citizen compatible with the liberty of others and, by this means, to offer the possibility of the good life to all.

There is yet another element of truth in these earlier attempts to find a solution to the mystery of suffering. It has just been pointed out that the cause of failure arose from supposing that there was necessarily an exact correspondence between the spiritual and the material worlds. Now, although in no worldly sense can we be sure of a man's meeting with his just reward in this life, there is no reason why we should not believe that *spiritually* God showers blessings on the righteous here and now. Virtue is its own reward. William Tindale was burnt at the stake as his reward at the hands of men for composing the foundation



of the Authorised Version of the Bible, but our pity is properly reserved for his judges.

These early writers, among whom must be placed nearly all the authors of the Old Testament—prophets, priests and psalmists alike—mistaken though they were in their views of God's dealing with us, were right in their determination to hold fast to the Divine Justice. We cannot worship an unjust God, but His ways are not quite so easy of comprehension as the ancients supposed. Job was needed as a stern corrective, but how little was the effect of the book and how partially was its lesson learnt is shown by Luke XIII., where we read that Jesus himself was obliged to warn his hearers against imputing sinfulness to those on whom the tower fell. In the Fourth Gospel, too, we find the question: "Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he should be born blind?"

We may sum up all these primitive beliefs by the one sentence: "The good do not suffer." Job's great contribution is "The good may suffer," and so we are prepared for the great lesson of the New Testament, which is that the good *must* suffer. This is a hard doctrine, but it is the only one which has the remotest chance of explaining our experience, and with it, therefore, we must start.

*The good must suffer.*—The good man is not the one who successfully steers a middle course between rocks on either hand. He is not the one who will always discreetly save his own soul. He is one who loses himself more and more in the life of the Kingdom, becomes more and more identified with the lives of others, seeketh not his own, and endureth all things because as his life expands it embraces more and more of the universe, until at last, so we may hope, it attains the immortality of the Divine which is all in all. Surely this is not mere hyperbole but simple reality; that reality which is simple enough and deep enough to be romantic as well as true. But how great will be the sufferings of a man who identifies himself with others in this way!

With these thoughts to assist us, we can make some attempt to understand the great mystery of Passion Week, and to see in what a real sense the Cross stands at the culminating point of human history.

The mission in Galilee had been a success—at least up to a point. Many of the people had heard Jesus gladly, and he had been able to choose his immediate band of disciples from out of a large number of followers. On the other hand, as a result of the report made by the emissaries from Jerusalem (Mark III.), the leaders of religion had turned against him and his mission, and it became clear to Jesus that the issue would have to be tried in the Capital itself. He had little doubt of the result and repeatedly warned the disciples of the coming tragedy. Nevertheless, it would be a profound mistake—and it would make the march to Judæa little more than a heroic suicide—to suppose that there was absolutely no chance whatever of a triumphant acceptance by the rulers at Jerusalem of the claims of Jesus to Kingship. The offer made to them was a genuine one and they might have seized it. It was made in unmistakable terms—the triumphal entry riding on an ass (the symbol of peace,) and the cleansing of the Temple, could only mean one thing. The old order must be given up, the Temple must be purged of its sacrificial system (a seventh-century anachronism) and become a House of Prayer, and Jesus must be crowned as King. His Kingdom was not of this world and it was only too obvious that it was only a Kingdom of this world which would be likely to make any appeal to such men as Annas and Caiaphas, on the one hand, and the party of Herodians on the other. The Pharisees might have been expected to shew more wisdom and understanding, and we know that some of them were actively working on the right side. It is disappointment at the hostile attitude of the majority of the Pharisees which accounts for the bitter tone used towards them by most of the New Testament writers.

Jesus gauged the position accurately; all his words and actions at this time fit in both with his hopes, which in one way were so slender and in another and more glorious way so triumphantly safe, and with his desperate fears, fears not only for mankind but also—we have his own words—for himself. The cleansing of the Temple;<sup>1</sup> the deliberate fulfilment of Zech. IX. 9,<sup>2</sup> when he rode on the symbol of peace into the city which ought to have been his capital and his stronghold, but which he knew might be the scene of his martyrdom; his repeated warnings to his followers

of the coming dangers; the parable of the wicked husbandmen; the anointing in Bethany; the agony and bloody sweat; the yearning over Jerusalem; those words which formed the basis of one of the charges against him: "Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will build one not made with hands"<sup>3</sup>—all this and, indeed, everything we know or can surmise about the events of Holy Week takes its natural place if we suppose that Jesus was deliberately offering himself to rulers and people alike. The Kingdom might have come peaceably, the Jews might have stepped into that position of world-wide spiritual leadership to which much of their previous history entitled them, but which their present self-righteousness and obstinacy prevented them from occupying. The Kingdom might have come gloriously. If there is no New Covenant without shedding of blood, it is because man will have it so, not because God so wills it.

If the Priests had been willing to sacrifice their worldly positions; if the Pharisees had been less stiff-necked and self-righteous, the people less fickle, the disciples more understanding and less cowardly; if Judas had not been a traitor, nor Pilate willing to surrender a just man rather than risk a tumult; if, in other words, all mankind had been far other and far better than it was and is, then there need have been no crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth.

But, in the words of St. John: "He knew what was in man," and was under no delusion as to the probable outcome of the appeal to Jerusalem. It seemed most likely that a cruel death awaited him, but his faith in God was so transcendent that he also knew that nothing could finally prevent the establishment of the kingdom which he had come on earth to found. "In three days"—that is, almost immediately, in a very short time—he said, a new Temple, not made with hands, would be built, though, owing to the superstition of the people and the hard-heartedness of their leaders, it might have to be built with his own body

---

<sup>1</sup> It is only fair to inform readers that many scholars to-day agree with St. John in placing the cleansing of the Temple at the beginning instead of the end of the ministry of Jesus. It is difficult to see what is gained thereby.

<sup>2</sup> See page 222.

<sup>3</sup> Mk. xiv. 58 and John ii. 19.

buried in the foundations. To quote St. John again, "he spake of the temple of his body."

So much is clear; yet we enter here one of the most difficult phases of investigation. How much *more* than this did Jesus know? Looking back on those terrible days, the disciples in after years seem to have been quite certain that Jesus foresaw everything—his resurrection and glorification no less clearly than his death and humiliation. It was natural for them to think so, but, with all reverence and humility, we may be allowed to probe a little farther into this wonderful consciousness of unique Sonship displayed by Jesus. Indeed, we are bound to do so, if only in answer to Satan's challenge in the Book of Job. If Jesus knew that, after a few hours of intense physical torment, he himself would be raised to a position of Divine Honour and Power and Glory, how can we speak of the Cross as being that supreme example of sacrifice which all Christians know it to be? If, on the other hand, he did not *know*, in the human sense, what lay beyond the grave, if he had but the eye of faith, still human though so much clearer than ours, then indeed the sacrifice of Calvary begins to assume gigantic proportions.

In such a tremendous matter as this, certainty cannot be attained, but, perhaps for that very reason, it should be productive of more good than harm to follow up any suggestion that can be made. If Jesus expected to die in Jerusalem, if he faced the fact of human mortality in exactly the same way as any one of God's saints, or as, say, Socrates in Athens more than four hundred years before had faced it; if, that is, his view beyond the grave differed not in kind but only in clarity and intensity from that of others who have also been found faithful unto death, then the Cross stands out in all its awful grandeur as the supreme self-sacrifice without which the world, being what it is, could not have been saved.

Consider the alternatives as they must have presented themselves to Jesus at this time. He knew that he was in possession of the greatest secret of all time—nothing less than the way of Eternal Life—the Fatherhood of God and the Sonship of man. When, according to St. John's Gospel, Peter said to him, "To whom shall we go, thou hast the words of eternal life," he

was using no hyperbole, but expressing a simple truth. Many people had heard him gladly, but that was obviously an insufficient guarantee for so stupendous a task as the salvation of the whole world. Moreover, Jesus had been hunted out of Galilee, even his own township of Nazareth had rejected his claims and sought to destroy him. With the little company that he had chosen "to be with him" and to undergo a course of intensive training for the work he had in view for them, he was a fugitive in Northern Syria. The people of Galilee had been profoundly stirred, but little more could be done within the realms of Herod until and unless a change was wrought in the attitude of the rulers at Jerusalem. If, therefore, Jesus had shrunk from the final challenge, it must have been clear to him that the effect of his great mission to his own people would soon fade away, and with it would also vanish every hope of the dawn of a new age for the whole world. Even his own disciples were but half-educated in the new way. They showed, over and over again, that they were still absorbed by the prospect of an *earthly* Kingdom, in which they themselves would occupy positions of high honour, "sitting on either side" judging other people. The answer of Peter at Cæsarea Philippi, "Thou art the Christ," was an imperfect half-truth, which immediately afterwards led to the fearful rebuke, "Get thee behind me, Satan." The wonder is that Jesus considered the education of the disciples sufficiently far advanced for him to face the trial at Jerusalem. The risks of fatal misunderstanding were great, but probably the risks of further delay were greater still. It was necessary for the issue to be decided before the enthusiasm of Galilee had entirely evaporated.

Jesus would, humanly speaking, have been amply justified in spending the remainder of his life as a great prophet and teacher exiled from his nation, wandering as a fugitive and, no doubt, eagerly followed by a faithful, but possibly diminishing band of disciples; a centre from which went forth rays of light into the world. Yet we may be thankful that he turned from all this and adopted the other alternative. When he had secured the confession at Cæsarea Philippi, he turned round and set his face to go to Jerusalem. It was the only way by which the

Kingdom could come, and it should be possible now to see something of the terrors of that *Via Dolorosa*. By committing himself to the decision at Jerusalem, Jesus was throwing himself utterly and entirely into the hands of God. He knew that God could not allow his cause to suffer defeat, but he also realized that the triumph of the cause would probably involve his own death. He could pray that the cup might pass from him, but he would add: "Thy will be done." In all too literal a sense, Jesus knew that the New Covenant could only be made by the shedding of blood. Knowing all this, knowing that the appeal to Jerusalem would almost certainly end in his own destruction, he yet committed himself and his stupendous cause into God's hands, believing that if he only did his Father's will, he could leave the issue with him. That the issue was what we know it to have been represents the tragedy of man; that it resulted also in the extension of God's reign on earth is illustration of God's power to turn evil into good, which is an integral part of tragedy. Tragedy always involves the apparent downfall of a man of heroic stature, but such a downfall is only pitiable and terrible on its earthward side. On the other side, there is *catharsis*, purification. Man's earthly career is always tinged with tragedy, but it is only with the superlatively good that the true splendour of tragedy is revealed. Evil goes on being handed from one to another until it meets with one who undertakes to bear it on his shoulders; when, by the mystery of God's providence, it is transmuted into good.<sup>1</sup> Just so, ugliness is that for which the artist has not yet found any use.<sup>2</sup>

It is in this direction, and in this direction only, that a solution of the problem of evil is to be sought, and we see now that we owe such light as we have to Jesus of Nazareth. His is the supreme tragedy—the perfectly guiltless man meets with apparently overwhelming disaster, not through any defect in his own character, but rather because of his very greatness and virtue, and yet through this disaster he achieves the greatest of spiritual triumphs. The Kingdom of God was established on

---

<sup>1</sup>I owe this thought to my late colleague, Mr. G. L. Heawood.

<sup>2</sup>And this to my late pupil, Mr. A. H. King.

earth, baptised with the blood of its Founder. If the words are used in this sense, it may be said that the reconciliation between Man and God—the Atonement—was furthered by the death of Christ.

We thus see that, in grappling with this greatest of all human problems, men passed through various stages of wisdom. At first, in spite of the obvious difficulties presented by experience, it was maintained that God could not and did not allow the righteous to suffer; then came the author of Job, who showed that, mysterious and even unjust though it might seem, God in his wisdom had seen fit to inflict suffering on the best of men, and sometimes to allow the wicked to prosper even to the end. And, lastly, in the fullness of time, came Jesus Christ, who showed, once for all, not only that the good *may* be called upon to suffer, but that they will even seek out suffering and voluntarily endure it because suffering is an attribute of the divine in man—suffering not for one's own faults but for those of others.

Even the earliest attempts at the solution of the problem of suffering contained an element of the truth which is not lost but gathered up in the fuller revelation of Jesus Christ. The family, the tribe, the nation are units and no individual can live to himself. The whole universe is a unity. The author of St. John's Gospel is insistent on this great reality of life. He goes further and demands that, at the centre of this unity is *logos*—sense, reason; the mystery of life is not wholly insoluble. In this world of time and space, man is necessarily limited in his vision, but his faith in the inherent goodness and rightness of things is justified. The *logos* became flesh and dwelt among us and we beheld his glory, for in Jesus men saw the meaning of suffering and learnt that God was not indifferent to the pain of the world he had made, but that he shared in its toil and in its suffering. The good must suffer, and in their suffering lies the greatness and the grandeur as well as the pitifulness and the terror of tragedy. We may even obtain a glimpse, now and again, of that purification in tragedy the Greeks called *catharsis*. Man can be purified by suffering. This is far from saying that we can understand it all—in this life knowledge and understanding are partial; but if now we see through a glass darkly,

we do at least see enough to justify our hope that some day we shall see face to face. Illumination increases with experience, though no knowledge is gained without pain and suffering.

There is room, also, in our final solution for the individualism of Jeremiah: "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." No one can escape the consequences of his own acts, and an easy-going, pleasant view of life persuading us that because God can bring good out of evil, and because we may believe that all will be well in the end, it does not matter much what we do here and now, is seen to be utterly false. We may not believe in eternal punishment, but we must believe in the Wrath of God. Even if all is to come right in the end, it seems that it is in man's power to delay the consummation, and to make the meantime exceedingly unhappy for himself and everyone else. The individual sinner may be held responsible for his own sin, but the consequences rest on all of us, and this serves to bring out another point of great importance in dealing with sin, either in ourselves or in others.

If each one had *alone* to bear the consequences of his acts, the risk of punishment might be quite cheerfully undertaken. The sinner would be on secure ground in resisting every appeal by the assertion that his conduct was his own affair, and that, if he had afterwards to pay, in this world or another, for his illicit pleasures, he was perfectly willing to do so and to "take his punishment like a man." This defence is, in fact, very often made, and, if it were valid, might even provoke a certain admiration for one who was willing to take tremendous risks—to measure his might against Fate. But the defence does not hold good. It is only a part, and a small part of the truth to say, "If we sin, we suffer." The other part, "If we sin, others suffer," is much more important. The appeal to selfishness may fail, perhaps even *ought* to fail, but this other appeal, not to self but to the responsibility for others, is far more potent; it is, in fact, unanswerable even when it does not prove irresistible, for there is no one in this world so utterly depraved as to be indifferent to the suffering he causes to others. There is no one, in other words, who does not harbour affection for *some* other human creature, and who will not therefore feel compunction in following a course of conduct



which must bring suffering on those he loves. Furthermore, it is only on lines such as these that Satan's taunt, "Doth Job fear God for nought?" can be successfully refuted.

We do well, therefore, to use the Cross as the symbol of all that is most divine in man for, by voluntary suffering for the sake of others, man can share in the life of God who, being supremely good, suffers with man and suffers more than man. God is not indifferent to all that man endures, and Jesus died in order that man might enter the Kingdom of God. All this, and much more, is owed to the supreme self-sacrifice of Christ, but the death of the only begotten Son was not, and never has been, a necessary condition for the forgiveness of God the Father. Christ was in the world—long before his death—reconciling the world to God.

The death of Christ had much to do with the foundation of God's Kingdom on earth, and was an integral part of the revelation of God's nature and of his purpose with the world, but it had no direct concern with the forgiveness of man. God had always been ready to forgive on the one necessary and sufficient condition of repentance. To forgive the unrepentant is to condone the sin; to refuse forgiveness to the repentant is to fall below the level of man. This is the teaching of Jesus himself throughout the Gospels; it is the main lesson of the parables of the Prodigal Son and the Wicked Servant. It is supplemented in the parables of the Lost Sheep and the Lost Piece of Silver, and it is never contradicted. We are shown the yearning of God towards the sinner, even in his unregenerate days, and the rejoicing in Heaven when one sinner repents; nor is there the smallest hint to be found in the Master's teaching, of any further condition than repentance as necessary for forgiveness either on the part of God towards man or man towards his fellow.

But, it will be urged, there *are* some words attributed to Jesus by the New Testament writers that seem to imply a different doctrine. It is not so; but they shall all be examined in order that no doubt may be left in the minds of any. Before proceeding to this examination, however, it may be well to say how utterly inconceivable it is that, if Jesus *did* connect his death with the forgiveness of sins, he should have left his followers in any doubt

as to his teaching on such a vital point. How could he have failed, for instance, to point out the error, as it would have been on this supposition, of John the Baptist, who preached "repentance unto remission of sins"? How could he have said to the paralytic, "Thy sins are forgiven thee," or of the woman who was a sinner, "Her sins, which are many, are forgiven"?

There are five texts to be examined, but four of them are different accounts of the same saying. The other one is in Mark X. 45,<sup>1</sup> where Jesus says that he is about to give his life a *ransom* for many. Now, many interpretations have been put on this verse, but there is nothing whatever in it to suggest that, in Jesus's mind, his death was to secure forgiveness of sins for his followers. If these were the *only* words of Jesus dealing with the matter, it is just conceivably possible that they might have borne that signification, but in view of his very definite teaching elsewhere, it would be perverse to insist on it. The words are equally consistent with the view that he regarded his death as the culminating point of his life, which was all one long sacrifice in the modern and not the ancient meaning of the word. Furthermore, if the whole passage, beginning at verse 35, be read, it will be observed that the disciples, James and John in particular, are invited to drink of the same cup, which is inconsistent with the view that the death of Christ possessed any unique expiatory value.<sup>2</sup>

The other four passages (Matt. XXVI. 26-29; Mk. XIV. 22-25; Lk. XXII. 15-20; 1 Cor. XI. 23-26—it is curious and perhaps significant that the incident is omitted by the Fourth Evangelist) refer to the Institution of the Eucharist.<sup>3</sup> With one very important difference, which will be dealt with presently, Matthew is here following Mark almost word for word. Luke seems to have an independent version, which he (or some editor, for the passage is confused by a *double* distribution of the wine)

<sup>1</sup>Copied verbatim in Matthew XX. 28, which is therefore not to be reckoned as a different text.

<sup>2</sup>The mention of a ransom is somewhat out of place in this passage, the theme of which is service. It will be noticed that Luke (xxii. 26-27) omits it.

<sup>3</sup>"The Last Supper," by the late Dr. R. H. Kennett is a most valuable book on this subject.

is combining with Mark's. Paul is an independent witness. Leaving Matthew aside, it is hardly enough to say that there is no reference whatever to the forgiveness of sins; we must go further and say that the thought is of the ratification of a covenant by the blood of Jesus, exactly the view for which we have been contending throughout this chapter. There is the further thought in St. Paul's account that the Supper should be kept up as a memorial of his death until he come; but, again, no mention of the forgiveness of sins. And this is all the more remarkable when St. Paul's own teaching on the Atonement is remembered.

If we now turn to Matthew, we find a very extraordinary addition to the words of Jesus at the Last Supper. It is perfectly plain that Matthew has before him Mark's account of the Institution and no other, yet he adds the startling words, "Unto remission of sins" to Mark's "This is the blood of the Covenant which is shed for many." What Matthew thought about the Atonement is therefore perfectly clear, but that the words were not spoken by Christ is equally so, for we can see precisely where Matthew found them. They are (all three, in the Greek, word for word and letter for letter) in Mark, but not in this place. They occur in the teaching of the Baptist, who urged "repentance unto remission of sins." Matthew has, there, substituted "For the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand" because, in his view, forgiveness could only be bought by the blood of Christ.

It is now necessary to account for the perversion of the doctrine of the Atonement which gained almost universal credence during the Dark and Middle Ages,<sup>1</sup> and which still passes, in some quarters, as the orthodox Christian teaching of to-day.

We have shown that the teaching of Jesus himself on the subject of forgiveness was open to no doubt and that he never regarded his death as in any direct way connected with it. Above

---

<sup>1</sup>For an exhaustive history of the theories of the Atonement from the earliest times onward, the reader is referred to the standard book on the subject: "*The Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology*," by the late Dean of Carlisle, Dr. Hastings Rashall. Those acquainted with this book will have already noticed the debt which this chapter owes to it.

all, he never said a word that could be taken to imply that a change in God's attitude towards man could be brought about by his own self-sacrifice. Yet there are plenty of passages in the New Testament which offer a very different solution to the problem of sin and forgiveness from the one which we should gather from the words of Jesus, and this certainly calls for explanation. It should be clear, however, that if the Apostles and other New Testament writers really did hold views on this, or any other, point which were at variance with those of the Master, we have no right to accept them. We may go further and say, with confidence, that no one of these authors would wish us to do so. One and all, they tried to direct us to Christ; they did not claim infallibility for themselves. St. Paul expressly rebukes the Corinthians for this very fault.

Now, it should first be realised that, at the time of our Lord's Advent, the idea of a Messiah who suffered in this life and whose work ended in apparent failure was both novel and abhorrent: it was a most unwelcome transformation of that expectation which had carried the Jews through their times of subjection and tribulation. It is not difficult to understand that, for them, one who *died* without visible triumph over his enemies could not be accepted as the expected Messiah. Success was of the essence of the Messianic conception. A *crucified* Messiah was, for them, a contradiction in terms.

The disciples shared the current ideas, and had utterly failed to grasp their Master's meaning when he warned them of his approaching condemnation and death. It was only after the event that they remembered the warnings and then searched the scriptures to justify a complete change in all their Messianic hopes. In Isaiah they found the Suffering Servant passages ready to hand, and it is more than likely that Jesus himself had tried, in his lifetime, to make it clear to them that these passages gave a truer conception of the Messiah than the ones they found in those apocalyptic books of which their minds were full. The necessity for such a radical change in all their conceptions of the Messiah brought the death of Christ into greater prominence even than his life. It was the one thing they had to explain and in Isaiah LIII. they found an explanation both full and satisfying,

for it exactly described the experiences through which they had just passed. "He was wounded for our transgressions; . . . with his stripes we are healed. All we like sheep have gone astray . . . and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all"—how perfectly it fitted! Nor is there the least harm in our using such words if we mean by it what the early disciples meant. In a very real sense indeed we enter the Kingdom of God because Jesus was faithful unto death, even the death of the Cross, but this must not be taken to mean that God was obliged to slay his innocent son before he could forgive the sins of men.

When, however, we come to the Epistles of St. Paul, the problem is different; it is also very much more complex. Some of the theories of that great man and missionary must frankly be rejected, because they do not agree with the teaching of Jesus himself, though there is less to be put aside than is commonly supposed. Allowance, on a scale undreamt of by a modern and Western writer, must be made for the use of metaphor. It must also be remembered that St. Paul had been trained as a Rabbi and that he made free use of Rabbinic methods of argument, that he held views of plenary inspiration utterly unacceptable to-day, and that for him the necessity of coming to some sort of terms with Jewish legalism loomed very large. He seems to have believed that the death of Christ in some way brought the Old Dispensation to an end, but he nowhere satisfactorily explains how this was done. To us who have never been under the old law, this seems to be an unnecessary labour, but to St. Paul it was a burning question and one that gave him acute anxiety. In his struggle to reconcile the new with the old he is led, in *theory*, to substitutionary and expiatory views of the Atonement, though there are other passages in his letters which are really inconsistent with such views. Not infrequently it is difficult or impossible to say whether St. Paul is speaking of the past, the present, or the future when he makes use of such words as "salvation" and "justification."<sup>1</sup> It is all very puzzling, and the matter is further complicated by several other circumstances. We are judging St. Paul by a series of *ad hoc* letters, some, if not all, of which were

---

<sup>1</sup>By "justification" St. Paul meant "acquittal" not "innocence." Most of his metaphors are juridical.

written without the slightest idea in the mind of their author that they would form the basis of a system of theology.

Two of them, however—Romans and Ephesians—have more resemblance to treatises than to mere letters, and these two serve well to illustrate another very important point in the character of their author. Like most men of vigorous and original intellect, St. Paul did not stand still. It is well known, for instance, that his views on eschatology show some development between the times of the Thessalonian Epistles and the days of the Roman imprisonment, and there can be little doubt that his views of other matters also underwent change. Now, although it is clear, from the later Epistles, that St. Paul continued to hold those substitutionary and sacrificial theories of the Atonement which perplex us in Galatians and Romans, it is also clear that the emphasis has greatly altered since those earlier days. From Paul the Prisoner we get much more in the key of the wonderful panegyric on Christian love of 1 Cor. XIII, and much less of the doubtful speculations based on altered Old Testament texts, such as those he gives us in Galatians and Romans.

Although, therefore, it is necessary to admit boldly that some of the great Apostle's teaching is not acceptable to-day, and to deny that it was a legitimate development of the teaching of Jesus Christ himself on forgiveness, yet the differences between the later St. Paul and ourselves is not so great as appears at first sight. After all, it is partly, even largely, a matter of emphasis. No one can question the importance of the death of Christ in the world's history, but we need not be hampered, as was St. Paul, by the necessity for evolving some kind of harmony between Old Testament theology as understood by the Rabbis and the New Testament doctrine of the loving Fatherhood of God as taught by Jesus of Nazareth.

When we pass on to a consideration of the theories of Atonement held and taught by the Christian Church throughout the long ages separating the Incarnation from our own time, we find very little to comfort us. The Early Fathers were much more interested in the relationships of the various Persons of the Trinity. In the intellectual East—a world still dominated by Greek thought and philosophy—it was Christology that almost

necessarily occupied the forefront of the battle. In the West, as was again natural, Christianity began more and more to take a legalistic form, to the great hurt, as we may well believe, of the true interests of God's Kingdom. This legalism became hardened and stereotyped under the influence of Augustine of Hippo (379-430 A.D.), in whose hands the theology of the Western Roman Church took its permanent shape. According to Augustine, every child of man is born in sin and is justly subject to God's wrath. If unbaptised, a perfectly innocent babe is shut out for ever from the light of God's presence, even if not condemned to an eternity of torment. From this awful fate, brought upon all mankind by the sin of Adam, the baptised may be saved because God, in His capacity as Judge, accepts the death of His Son in place of Adam and his descendants.<sup>1</sup>

This hideous doctrine seems to have satisfied the Christian Church throughout the Dark and Middle Ages. Nearly all the theologians assert it in some form or other, though most of them allow some slight modifications in favour of the innocent unbaptised. Amid this arid waste only one really vigorous protest can be detected—that of Abélard (1079-1142 A.D.), a Frenchman who was the greatest thinker of his day and who held views of the Atonement almost entirely in accord with those now accepted. The Church indicated its estimate of Abélard's views by condemning him to prison for life; we can therefore only conclude that this legalistic conception of Christianity, so repugnant to our minds to-day and so much at variance with the teaching of Jesus Christ, actually suited the mediæval temperament. The reformers of the sixteenth century were not a whit better than the Churchmen of the Middle Ages, for they were fully determined to follow St. Paul without troubling too much to compare his teaching with that of the Gospels. Long indeed has been the reign of untruth and unreason, but it is not too much to hope that, on this matter at least, it is over at last.

---

<sup>1</sup>It should be noted that, except in Luke's genealogy, there is no reference whatever in the Gospels to Adam or his fall.

## EPILOGUE

To the indolence in man, bondage is preferable to liberty. Moses led the children of Israel into the freedom of the wilderness and, looking back with longing to the fleshpots of Egypt, they murmured against him. Given a benevolent despot, it is easier to lead the life of a slave than that of a free man, and even a bad slave owner will be likely, in his own interest, to provide sufficient food, clothing and shelter for his servants. The slave is spared the worry and anxiety attendant on responsibility and many people, though they would not think of themselves as slaves, like to have things ordered and arranged for them, especially in matters relating to the worship of the gods. So, when they came to settle down in Palestine, these Israelites soon forgot the freedom of the wilderness and became an easy prey to the wiles of the priests. Yet the life of a slave is worthless and God loved mankind too well to leave his people in bondage, so he raised up a succession of prophets—Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah, Jeremiah—who would not allow the Hebrews to slumber and sleep in the land of taboo but continually roused them to a sense of their heritage as sons of God. (See Jeremiah XXXI., p. 192.)

The prophets met with a poor response from a priest-ridden people, and the Babylonian exile produced Ezekiel, who claimed rank as a prophet but was really a priest. Under his influence, the words of the prophets were codified and bound up in a book, and Ezra was able, when his turn came, to promulgate the Law with the assumed authority of Moses himself. Thus, by an ironical though not unusual fate, Moses, the apostle of freedom, became, in the hands of the priests, the arch lawgiver and foremost taskmaster. Probably it was the intention of Ezekiel and of Ezra to preserve the teaching of the prophets, but the effect of their work was to mummify it. Inspiration brooks no bounds.

"God made man in his own image," yet man is, apparently, but a pale reflex of the Godhead. An essential ingredient, the



power of creation, seems to have been denied him. In the Garden of Eden story, and elsewhere in pagan literature, God is depicted as jealously withholding the highest and noblest kind of knowledge and power, but this view is not shared by him who said, "Possible? All things are possible."

The truth is that man is called on to share God's work to the uttermost; both the pain and the joy of creation are to be his. In the fullest sense, for instance, it is right to speak of art as creative. Art is more than imitation; it must be true to life, but its chief function is interpretation. In this interpretation lies that subtle something which distinguishes what we call genius from mere talent, and transforms imitation into real creation. There is an element of the eternal, the timeless, in all creative art. The artist can transform the temporal into the eternal, the particular into the universal, the human into the divine. A subtle alchemy that can transform life's leaden metal into pure gold. It is not enough to say that truth is relative and that absolute truth is beyond our grasp. In a sense, this is so, but it is necessary to go further and to make a bolder claim. God's secrets are revealed to man under certain conditions and the chief of these conditions is the fearless demand of man to know the truth as God sees it. It is comparatively easy to make a picture of life or some aspect of life in painting, novel or drama which is partially true, which will, perhaps, for a time, pass muster and will please not God but man. All except the best art is so tainted and its fate is to live for a time and die for ever. The artist must be willing to surrender himself utterly to God, although he may not be conscious of this necessity or that he is fulfilling it: he must be determined to see with God's eyes, to accept only God's values, and then God does reveal the truth to him. Clear vision and fearless honesty are the marks of what we call inspiration. The artist may tell us of horrible things and we shall be made to feel the horror, but there will be catharsis and we shall be purified.

Artists are necessarily bound by the limitations of the medium in which they work. Æschylus must write for the Athenian stage and Shakespeare for the Elizabethan; Benvenuto will work in gold, Rembrandt with canvas and paint, and all artists are, in that way, subject to limitations, but in every other way they are

free and know no law. Weaker men, lacking inspiration, will frame laws and kill the art thereby.

This freedom was preached by Jesus Christ to all; if he is to be believed, it is man's birthright. All are invited to share in the work of creation and, in that sense, all are artists. There is some definite piece of work for each to do in the building of the universe, and God is willing to reveal it if only man will set himself to discover the truth and to follow it at all costs. The joy of the creator, who knows that what he makes is independent of time and space, is promised to all. "Take my yoke upon you and learn of me." That is the one condition for participation in the work of the Absolute: all may drink of the Castalian stream.

That is the Gospel, the Good News, of Jesus Christ. Almost at once, it suffered a fate similar to that of Moses and the Prophets. Jesus was crucified, as the Prophets had been stoned, and his message was bound round with the neolegalism of Matthew, just as that of the prophets had been by Ezekiel and Ezra. The Parable may be extended—the four hundred years between Ezra and Jesus saw the degeneration of the freedom of the Prophets into the cult of Judaism and the Middle Ages from Augustine of Hippo to the time of the Reformation debased the freedom of the Gospel into the cult of Mediæval Ecclesiasticism, yet the truth has been preserved to us and the heritage is ours.

## SON OF MAN

Passages in Mk with corresponding passages in Mt and Lk

| MARK                   | MATTHEW   | LUKE      | SUBJECT                                         |
|------------------------|-----------|-----------|-------------------------------------------------|
| ii. 10                 | ix. 6     | v. 24     | Power to forgive sins                           |
| ii. 28                 | xii. 8    | vi. 5     | Lord of the Sabbath                             |
| [viii. 27]             | xvi. 13   | [ix. 18]  | Confession at Cæsarea Philippi                  |
| viii. 31               | [xvi. 21] | ix. 22    | The S.M. must suffer                            |
| viii. 38               | xvi. 27   | ix. 26    | { Coming in the kingdom                         |
| [ix. 1]                | xvi. 28   | [ix. 27]  |                                                 |
| ix. 9                  | xvii. 9   | ix. 36    | Transfiguration                                 |
| ix. 12                 | xvii. 12  | —         | Elijah                                          |
| ix. 31                 | xvii. 22  | ix. 42    | The S.M. must suffer                            |
| x. 33                  | xx. 18    | xviii. 31 | Warning of the Passion                          |
| x. 45                  | xx. 28    | —         | Ransom for many                                 |
| xiii. 26               | xxiv. 30  | xxi. 27   | Dan. VII. 13. Coming on the clouds              |
| [xiv. 1]               | xxvi. 2   | [xxii. 1] | Warning of the Passion                          |
| xiv. 21 ( <i>bis</i> ) | xxvi. 24  | xxii. 22  | Woe to the betrayer                             |
| xiv. 41                | xxvi. 45  | —         | The Sleeping Guard                              |
| xiv. 62                | xxvi. 64  | xxii. 69  | Sitting at the right hand<br>(cf. Acts VII. 56) |

Brackets indicate absence of the phrase from the passage.

— indicates omission of the passage altogether.

Passages in which Mt or Lk have made additions to Mk and thereby introduced the phrase "Son of man."

| MARK       | MATTHEW     | LUKE     | SUBJECT               |
|------------|-------------|----------|-----------------------|
| [x. 29]    | xix. 28     | —        | Sitting on the throne |
| [xiii. 21] | [xxiv. 23]  | xvii. 22 | Lo here, lo there     |
| [xiii. 33] | [xxiv. 42]  | xxi. 36  | Watch                 |
| [xiv. 46]  | [xxvi. 50]  | xxii. 48 | Betray with a kiss    |
| [xvi. 7]   | [xxviii. 7] | xxiv. 7  | Go tell the disciples |

It also appears in M, x. 23, xiii. 37, 41, xix. 28, xxv. 31, and in L, xviii. 8, xix. 10.

## SON OF MAN

Passages in Q where the phrase occurs.

| MATTHEW  | LUKE     | Q CHAPTER | SUBJECT                |
|----------|----------|-----------|------------------------|
| xi. 19   | vii. 34  | 4         | Eating and drinking    |
| viii. 20 | ix. 58   | 6         | Foxes have holes       |
| xii. 32  | xii. 10  | 10        | Speaking against       |
| xii. 40  | xi. 30   | 10        | Sign of Jonah          |
| xxiv. 27 | xvii. 24 | 12        | As lightning           |
| xxiv. 37 | xvii. 26 | 12        | Noah                   |
| —        | xvii. 30 | 12        | Lot                    |
| xxiv. 44 | xii. 40  | 12        | Hour when ye think not |

Luke also uses it in VI. 22 (Q 3) and XII. 8 (Q 6), where its absence from Matthew seems to imply that it was not in Q.

## SON OF MAN

In the Fourth Gospel the title occurs in the following passages:—

|               |                                                       |
|---------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| i. 51         | Ye shall see angels ascending and descending          |
| iii. 13       | No one has ascended into heaven but he that descended |
| iii. 14       | As Moses was lifted up                                |
| v. 27         | The Son of man has authority                          |
| vi. 27        | The bread which the Son of man shall give             |
| vi. 53        | Except ye eat the flesh of                            |
| vi. 62        | The Son of man ascending                              |
| viii. 28      | When ye have lifted up                                |
| ix. 35, 36    | Who is he, Lord?                                      |
| xii. 23       | Glorified                                             |
| xii. 34 (bis) | Who is this Son of man?                               |
| xiii. 31      | Glorified (the Greeks who would see Jesus)            |

## APPENDIX II

The five passages in Matthew which mark the end of the author's five books of Torah (Law, Teaching) are:

### MATTHEW

vii. 28, 29      And it came to pass when Jesus ended these words, the multitudes were astonished at his teaching: for he taught them as one having authority and not as their scribes.

(End of Book 1.)

xi. 1      And it came to pass when Jesus had made an end of commanding his disciples, he departed thence to teach and preach in their cities.

(End of Book 2.)

xiii. 53      And it came to pass when Jesus had finished these parables, he departed thence.

(End of Book 3.)

xix. 1a      And it came to pass when Jesus had finished these words, he departed from Galilee.

(End of Book 4.)

xxvi. 1, 2      And it came to pass when Jesus had finished all these words, he said unto his disciples, Ye know that after two days the passover cometh, and the Son of man is delivered up to be crucified.

(End of Book 5.)

### APPENDIX III

Parts of M for which places could not easily be found in Chapter V. There are also many slight changes made by Matthew in the text of Mark, but everything of importance will be found either in Chapter V or in this Appendix.

#### MATTHEW

- iv. 18            [Simon] who is called Peter.
- viii. 1           And when he was come down from the mountain,  
                     great multitudes followed him.
- viii. 2           In the account taken and shortened from Mark I. 40-45 of the  
                     healing of the leper, Matthew alters "kneeling down to him"  
                     into "worshipped him," as with Jairus in IX. 18.
- ix. 1            And he entered into a boat, and crossed over, and  
                     came into his own city.
- ix. 8b           [God] which had given such power unto men.
- ix. 13.           In a Marcan passage, Matthew prefaces "for I came not to  
                     call the righteous . . ." with "But go ye and learn what this  
                     meaneth, I desire mercy, and not sacrifice"—a very appropriate  
                     quotation from Hosea VI. 6.
- ix. 18           My daughter is even now dead.
- ix. 22           And the woman was made whole from that hour.
- ix. 26           And the fame hereof went forth into all that land.
- x. 1b            [Authority] over unclean spirits . . . and to heal  
                     all manner of disease and all manner of sickness.

## MATTHEW

xi. 20

Then began he to upbraid the cities wherein most of his mighty works were done, because they repented not.

xii. 23 In dealing with the Beelzebub Controversy, Matthew inserts a reference to the son of David which is not apparently in his sources (Q and Mark):—

And all the multitudes were amazed, and said, Is this the son of David?

A much longer quotation from Is. VI. than Mark's is given:—

xiii. 14, 15 And unto them is fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah, which saith,

By hearing ye shall hear, and shall in no wise understand;

And seeing ye shall see, and shall in no wise perceive:

For this people's heart is waxed gross,

And their ears are dull of hearing,

And their eyes they have closed;

Lest haply they should perceive with their eyes,

And hear with their ears,

And understand with their heart,

And should turn again,

And I should heal them.

xiii. 58

Mark VI. 5 "And he could there do no mighty work" becomes in Matthew "and he did not many mighty works there, because of their unbelief."

xiv. 12b

and they went and told Jesus.

xv. 12, 13

Then came the disciples, and said unto him, Knowest thou that the Pharisees were offended, when they heard this saying? But he answered and said, Every plant which my heavenly Father planted not, shall be rooted up.

## MATTHEW

xv. 39 Mt alters "parts of Dalmanutha" of Mark into "borders of Magadan."

xvi. 6 "leaven of Sadducees" (Mk "Herod").

xvi. 14 "Jeremiah" is added.

In the Marcan account of the Second Advent Matthew adds a quotation from Ps. LXII. 12:—

xvi. 27 And then shall he render unto every man according to his deeds.

In the story of the Transfiguration, Mt adds:—

xvii. 6, 7 And when the disciples heard it, they fell on their face, and were sore afraid. And Jesus came and touched them and said, Arise, and be not afraid.

xvii. 13 . . . Then understood the disciples that he spake unto them of John the Baptist.

xvii. 23 Matthew changes the disciples "understood not" (Mk) the prediction of the Passion into they "were exceeding sorry."

xix. 13 "And pray" is added to the request of the parents for the blessing of their children and the words "and departed thence" are inserted at the end of the incident.  
15b

xx. 20 Mt makes Salome and not James and John ask for the chief positions in the kingdom and he adds that she "worshipped him."

xx. 30 Blind Bartimæus of Mk X. becomes "two blind men" in Mt.

34 "Being moved with compassion touched their eyes" is not in Mk.



## MATTHEW

- xxi. 19b      And immediately the fig tree withered away.
- xxii. 33      And when the multitudes heard it, they were astonished at his teaching.
- xxii. 38      This is the great and first Commandment.
- xxii. 40      On these two Commandments hangeth the whole law, and the prophets.
- xxii. 46      And no one was able to answer him a word, neither durst any man from that day forth ask him any more questions.
- xxiv. 3      [Sign] of thy coming, and of the end of the world.
- xxiv. 14      . . . [for a testimony unto all the nations] and then shall the end come.
- 15      [When therefore ye see THE ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION,] which was spoken of by Daniel the prophet, [standing] in the holy place.

## APPENDIX IV

Parts of L for which places could not conveniently be found in Chapter VI. For all practical purposes the whole of Luke will be found in Mark, Q, L and this Appendix.

- iii. 5, 6      Luke continues the quotation from Is. XL. 3-5:—  
                Every valley shall be filled,  
                And every mountain and hill shall be brought low;  
                And the crooked shall become straight,  
                And the rough ways smooth;  
                And all flesh shall see the salvation of God.
- 15              And as the people were in expectation, and all men  
                reasoned in their hearts concerning John, whether  
                haply he were the Christ.
- 21              . . . When all the people were baptised [Jesus]  
                . . . and praying.
- 22              . . . in a bodily form.
- vi. 17          . . . and he came down with them, and stood on a  
                level place, and a great multitude of . . .
- 19              And all the multitude sought to touch him: for  
                power came forth from him, and healed them all.
- viii. 53        . . . knowing that she [Jairus's daughter] was dead.

### *The Confession at Cæsarea Philippi*

This very important incident is given prominence by all three Evangelists.

Luke has some difficulty with his bridge passage. He has not brought his characters into the neighbourhood of Cæsarea Philippi, so he says:—

- ix. 18      And it came to pass, as he was praying alone, the disciples were with him: and he asked them, saying, Who do the multitudes say that I am?

It is to be noted that Luke omits all mention of the rebuke to Peter, which is an integral and important feature of Mark's narrative.

- ix. 42,      And gave him back to his father. And they were  
 43,      all astonished at the majesty of God.  
 44a      But while all were marvelling at all the things which he did, he said unto his disciples, Let these words sink into your ears:  
 45b      And it was concealed from them that they should not perceive it.  
 47a      . . . Jesus saw the reasoning of their heart, he took a little child, and set him  
 48b      . . . for he that is least among you all, the same is great.  
 60b      . . . but go thou and publish abroad the Kingdom of God.
- x. 1      Now after these things the Lord appointed seventy others, and sent them [two and two] before his face into every city and place, whither he himself was about to come.
- 4b      . . . and salute no man on the way.
- 7-9      And in that same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they give: for the labourer is worthy of his hire. Go not from house to house. And into what-

soever city ye enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you: and heal the sick that are therein, and say unto them, The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you.

x. 11b . . . howbeit know this, that the kingdom of God is come nigh.

xi. 1, 2a And it came to pass, as he was praying in a certain place, that when he ceased, one of his disciples said unto him, Lord, teach us to pray, even as John also taught his disciples. And he said unto them,  
. . . (the Lord's Prayer—Q.)

16 And others, tempting him, sought of him a sign from heaven.

22 . . . but when a stronger than he shall come upon him, and overcome him, he taketh from him his whole armour wherein he trusted, and divideth his spoils.  
(Possibly Q—see page 82.)

41 Howbeit give for alms those things which are within [and behold, all things are clean unto you.]

45, 46a And one of the lawyers answering saith unto him, Master, in saying this thou reproachest us also. And he said, Woe unto you lawyers also!

53, 54 And when he was come out from thence, the scribes and the Pharisees began to press upon him vehemently, and to provoke him to speak of many things; laying wait for him, to catch something out of his mouth.

xii. 1 In the mean time, when the many thousands of the multitude were gathered together, insomuch that they trode one upon another, he began to say unto his disciples first of all, Beware ye of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy.

xii. 29b . . . neither be ye of doubtful mind.

35-38 Let your loins be girded about, and your lamps burning; and be ye yourselves like unto men looking for their lord, when he shall return from the marriage feast; that, when he cometh and knocketh, they may straightway open unto him. Blessed are those servants, whom the lord when he cometh shall find watching: verily I say unto you, that he shall gird himself, and make them sit down to meat, and shall come and serve them. And if he shall come in the second watch, and if in the third, and find them so, blessed are those servants.

xviii. 31b And all the things that are written by the prophets shall be accomplished.

34 And they understood none of these things; and this saying was hid from them, and they perceived not the things that were said. (This relates to the prediction of the Passion.)

43b And all the people, when they saw it, gave praise unto God (refers to the healing of a blind man).

xx. 16b And when they heard it, they said, God forbid.

# INDEX

- Abélard, 268,  
 Achaia (Church of), 38  
*Acts*, 2, 30, 33, 195, 229, 234, 243  
 Adam, 10, 246, 268  
 Adoptionist Heresy, 49  
 Æschylus, 8<sup>n</sup>  
 Agalliasis, Chap. VII, 90-2  
 Agony in the garden, 256  
 Ahab, 250  
 Albigenis, 1  
 Aleppo, 205  
 Alexander, 5  
*Amos*, 10-2, 14, 18, 20, 208, 213-4,  
     250  
 Anchor, 2-3  
 Angels, 31, 199<sup>n</sup>  
 Anger (or Wrath), 39, 261, 268  
 Annas, 255  
 Antioch (Church), 35, 38  
 Antiochus Epiphanes, 19, 21, 224,  
     233  
 Apocalyptic writings, 12<sup>n</sup>, 18-25,  
     197, 206-8, 232, and Chapter X  
*Apocalypse*, the, 35<sup>n</sup>, 226-8 (*See*  
     *Revelation*)  
 — of St. John, 232-3, 265  
 — The Little, 200, 231-2  
 Aramaic, 43, 196-7, 205, 209-10  
 Aristotle, 5  
 Ascension, 185  
 Asia Minor, 35  
 Assyria, 5-6, 17, 20  
 Athens, 5  
 Athenians, 8  
 Atonement, Chap. XII, 9, 224  
 Augustine of Hippo, 268  
 Authorized Version, 5-6, 39, 251<sup>n</sup>,  
     254  
 Babylonia, 5, 20, 37  
 Bacon, Prof. B. W., 29, 204<sup>f</sup>  
 Bacteriology, 200<sup>n</sup>  
 Baptism of Jesus, 48-9, 189  
 Barnabas, 35  
 Bathsheba incident, 6  
 Beatty, Chester, 40<sup>n</sup>  
 Beelzebub Controversy, 82-3, 188,  
     201, 239  
 Bethany, 195, 256  
 Bethel, 11, 20  
 Bible, as History, 4-5, 40  
 — as Literature, 5-7  
 — as Religion, 7-9  
 — Tudor Book, 7  
 Bibliolatry, 8, 23  
 Birth Stories, 29, 30, 33<sup>n</sup>  
 Bishop, 214  
 Beatitudes, 50-1, 60  
 Books, of the Bible as Pointers, 3  
 Bridge-passages, 211  
 Burial Service, 251<sup>n</sup>  
 Cæsarea (Church), 38  
 — Philippi, 202, 215, 234-5, 258  
 Caiaphas, 203, 255  
 Canaan, 11  
 Canon, 19, 22-3, 89, 232 (Hebrew  
     18<sup>n</sup>)  
 Capernaum, 201  
 Catharsis, 259-60  
 Cathedral, 9  
 Centurion's Servant, 28, 54, 57,  
     187, 193  
 Centurion at Cross, 196  
 Charles, R. H., 20<sup>n</sup>  
 Children in the Market Place, 62  
 Choice, 227, 230  
 Chronology of the Gospels, 38-9  
 — of Mark, 20  
 Church, 37-8, 120, 195-6, 205-8,  
     233, 243, 267-8  
 — of the Middle Ages, 208, 268  
 — Services, 38  
 — Metropolitan, 38  
 — of England, 214  
*Colossians*, Epistle to, 232  
 Comforter, 231  
 Commandments, Ten, 12

- Compass, 3  
 Composite Books, 7  
 Conflation, 7, 33, 110-11, 208  
*Corinthians*, 265, 267  
 Covenant, 196, 256, 259, 264  
 Creation, 11  
 Criticism, Stages of, 39-41  
 Crucifixion, 35, 199, 204, 213, 229, 246, 254, 256-7, 262, 265  
*Daniel*, 6, 19, 232-3  
 Dark Ages, 249, 264, 268  
 Dates of Gospels, 29-34  
 David, 6, 23, 61, 217-9  
 Day of Judgement, 20-1 (*See also* Eschatology)  
 Deacon, 214  
 Demonology, 200  
*Deuteronomy*, 11, 17-8  
 Dispersion of the Jews, 17  
 Divorce, 67, 122  
 Domitian, 205, 233  
 Earthquake, 30-1, 133-4  
 Edessa, 205  
 Education (Jewish), 36  
 Egypt, 5, 20, 251  
 Elisha, 11  
 Elijah, 11-2, 216, 219-20  
 Empires, 5  
*Enoch*, *Books of*, 19, 61, 234  
 Entry into Jerusalem, 221-3, 228-9, 255  
*Ephesians*, *Epistle to*, 267  
 Ephesus, 38  
 Epistles (*See* Paul), 2, 6-7, 266-7  
 Eschatology, Chap. X, 19, 21, 94-5, 200, 267  
*Esther*, 4  
 Eucharist (*See also* Last Supper), 263-4  
 Eusebius, 29, 232  
 Evil, Problem of, 9, Chap. XII,  
 Exile, 14, 21, 23, 85  
*Exodus*, 11, 16  
*Ezekiel*, 208, 234  
*Ezra*, 208  
 Faith, 2, 196, 243, 257, 260  
 Fall of Jerusalem, 228  
 Feeding of the Five Thousand, 35<sup>n</sup>, 200<sup>n</sup>  
 — — — Four Thousand, 35<sup>n</sup>, 200<sup>n</sup>  
 Forgiveness, including Doctrine of Divine, 209, 247-9, 262-7  
*Fourth Gospel* (*See* John)  
 Gadarene Swine, 203  
*Galatians*, *Epistle to*, 267  
 Galilee, 196-7, 222, 258  
 — — — Ministry in, 47, 201-2, 255  
 Genealogy, 30, 100  
*Genesis*, 11  
 Gentiles, 31, 34, 47, 53-5, 85, 196, 223, 234  
 Gethsemane, 203  
 Golden Rule, 52  
 Good Samaritan, Parable of the, 33, 193, 212, 212<sup>n</sup>  
 Gore's *Commentary*, 210  
 Gospels (other than the Four), 37-8  
 Greeks, 5, 55  
 Greek Language, 12, 36, 39, 42-3, 55, 69, 197, 205, 209-10, 243-4, 264  
 Harnack, 42-3, 49, 67, 91, 191<sup>n</sup>  
 Hasmonæans, 24  
 Healing on the Sabbath, 82  
 Hebrew Idiom, 210  
 — — — Language, 7, 12-5, 55, 205  
 Hebron, 11, 17  
 Herod, 61, 202, 222  
 "Herodians," 201-2, 255  
 Herodotus, 203  
 Hidden Treasure, Parable of, 31  
 "Higher Critic," 40-1  
 Historical Method, 3  
 Homer, 5  
*Hosea*, 10-11, 12<sup>n</sup>, 14, 18, 40<sup>n</sup>, 208, 213-14, 250  
 Hyrcanus, John, 24, 218  
 Idiom (*See* Hebrew)  
 Idolatry, 8, 8<sup>n</sup>, 9  
 Incarnation, 267  
 Infallibility, 1-2, 8  
 Innocent III, 1  
 Interims-ethik, 25  
 Interpreter, 34  
 Irenæus, 34  
*Isaiah*, 6, 10-11, 12<sup>n</sup>, 14, 18, 208, 210, 213-4, 217, 219, 223, 250, 265

- Jairus's Daughter, 55, 210, 241  
 James, 263; *Epistle of*, 206  
 Jehu, Revolution of, 6, 11  
*Jeremiah*, 10-11, 12<sup>n</sup>, 14, 16-18, 92, 192, 208, 213-4, 221, 250, 261  
 Jethro, 95  
*Job*, 4, 6, 9, 12-13, 40<sup>n</sup>, 251-4, 257, 260  
 John (and the *Gospel of*), 26, 38, 47, 51, 55, 57, 67, 79, 187-8, 190, 193-4, 196-7, 200, 203-4, 209, 220-1, 225-6, 230-3, 239, 241, 243-4, 246, 248, 254, 256<sup>n</sup>, 256-7, 260, 263  
 John the Baptist, 28, 31, 46-7, 58-9, 63, 187-8, 193, 209-10, 216, 220, 263-4  
*Jonah*, 12, 85  
 — Sign of, 59, 84-5, 188, 193, 240-1  
 Joseph, 6<sup>n</sup>; St. Joseph, 30  
 — of Arimathea, 195  
*Joshua*, 18  
 Judaism, 31, 96, 193, 206, 208  
 Judas, 30, 256  
 Judgment, 67, 190, 227-8, 251  
 — Apocalyptic idea of, 21  
 Justice, Divine, 254  
  
 Kennett, Dr. R. H., 224<sup>n</sup>, 263<sup>n</sup>  
 Kingdom, The, 21-5, 192, 207, 219, 222-3, 227-9, 254-6, 258-9, 262, 266, 268  
*Kings*, 6, 18  
  
 Last Supper, 31, 35, 204, 209, 263-4  
 Law (*See* Torah)  
 Lawyers, 96  
 Lazarus, 6, 33 (*See also* Rich Man and Lazarus)  
 Leaven, 56-7, 227  
 Levi, 218  
 — the Publican, 205  
*Leviticus*, 11, 12<sup>n</sup>  
 Literature, Bible as, 5-7  
 Loaves and Fishes, 241  
 Logia, 29, 187  
 Logos, 260  
 Lord's Prayer, 13, 93  
 Lost Piece of Silver, Parable of the, 262  
  
 — Sheep, Parable of the, 32-3, 209, 262  
 "Lower Criticism," 39-41  
  
 Maccabees, 21, 24<sup>n</sup>, 218, 224  
 Magi, 30  
 Marriage Feast, 188  
 Massacre of the Innocents, 30  
 Mathematics, 245  
 Media, 5  
 Mesopotamia, 11, 20  
 Messiah, 21-4, 29, 197, 200-3, 208-9, 209<sup>n</sup>, 214-5, 218-225, 234-5, 240<sup>n</sup>, 244, 265  
 Metaphors, 13, 59, 91, 210, 248, 266<sup>n</sup>  
*Micah*, 10-11, 12<sup>n</sup>, 14, 18, 208, 213-4, 250, 217  
 Middle Ages, 264, 268  
 Midrash, 119, 207  
 Milton, John, 247  
 Miracles, 49, 55, 59-60, 194, 200, 208, 211, and Chap. XI  
 Missionary Work, 35, 37, 85, 229  
 Modern Approach to the Bible, 2-3  
 Monotheism, 8  
 Moses, 10-11, 14, 16, 18, 61, 95, 206, 208, 220-1, 250  
 Mount Zion, 8  
 Mustard Seed, Parable of the, 56-7  
  
 Names of the Gospels, xv.  
 Nazareth, 106, 258  
 Nebuchadnezzar, 19  
 Nero, 233  
 Nicodemus, 195  
 Ninevites, 85, 240  
 Noah, 230  
 Nobleman, Parable of the, 227  
 Nobleman's Son, 55, 188  
  
 Offerings, Burnt, 16  
 One Sanctuary, Law of the, 17  
 Oracles, 206-7  
 Order of the Gospels, xv  
 Overlapping of Sources, 33  
  
 Papias, 29, 34-5, 187, 200-1, 204-6  
 Paralytic, The, 241-2, 263  
 Parovsia, 231-2  
 Passion, 28, 30, 33, 196, 202, 211, 221-3, 254



- Passover, 204  
 Paul, 33, 35, 38, 206, 209, 224, 226,  
     229-30, 232, 234-5, 243, 246,  
     248, 264-8  
 Pearl of Great Price, Parable of the,  
     31  
 Pentateuch, 10-11, 15-16, 18, 206-7  
 Peræa, 222  
 Persia, 5, 20  
 Peter, 31, 34-6, 199-202, 204-5,  
     207, 216, 219, 222, 234, 257-8  
 Pharisees, 87, 96, 206, 255-6  
 Pharisee and Publican, 33  
 Pilate, 30, 204, 256  
 Pope, 1  
 Pounds, Parable of the, 33, 73  
 Predictor, 214  
 Presbyter, 213-4  
 Priests, 21, 96, 213-4, 254, 256  
 Priestly Code, 18  
 Prodigal Son, Parable of the, 33,  
     193, 212, 212<sup>n</sup>, 262  
 Prophecy and Prophets, 14, 18, 19,  
     22-3, 31, 34, 63, 89, 194-5, 197,  
     208, 254, and Chap. IX  
 Proto-Luke, 211  
*Psalms*, 12-13, 217-8  
  
 Quirinius, 146  
  
 Rabbinic Methods, 194, 207, 209-10,  
     221, 266  
 Rabbis, 23, 208, 242, 266-7  
 Ransom, Theory of, 247, 263, 263<sup>n</sup>  
 Rashall, Dr. Hastings, 264<sup>n</sup>  
 Renaissance, 1  
 Repentance, 105, 248, 262  
 Resurrection, 21, 29-30, 33, 35,  
     195, 199<sup>n</sup>, 223, 229, 257  
*Revelation*, 19, 232-3  
 Rich Man and Lazarus, Parable of  
     the, 33, 193  
 Romans, 24, 55, 219, 222  
*Romans, Epistle to*, 267  
 Roman Church, 208, 268  
     — Empire, 5, 36, 38, 228-9, 233  
 Rome, 35  
     — Church at, 34, 38, 199  
 Rushbrooke, viii, 199<sup>n</sup>  
  
 Sacerdotalism, 213  
 Sacraments, 60  
  
 Sacrifices, 8, 10-11, 14-17, 255, 267  
     (See also Vicarious Sacrifice)  
 Sadducees, 18, 21, 213  
 Samaria, Fall of, 17  
 Samaritan, Good (See Good  
     Samaritan)  
 Samson, 6  
 Samuel, 6, 214  
 Sanhedrin, 203-4  
 Saul, 6  
 Sayings, 187-8  
 Schmiedel, 59<sup>n</sup>  
 Schweitzer, Dr. A., 200, 203, 233  
 Science, 236-8, 242  
 Scribes, 87, 89, 96, 206  
 Seed Growing Secretly, Parable of  
     the, 227  
 Septuagint, Greek O.T., 142<sup>f</sup>, 197  
 Sermon on the Mount, 27, 32, 207  
 Sheol, 251, 251<sup>n</sup>  
 Signs, 59, 85, 192-4, 239-244 (See  
     also under Jonah)  
 Silas, 35  
 Socrates, 257  
 Sodom and Gomorrah, 230  
 "Son of man," 233-5, and Appendix  
*Song of Songs*, 4  
 Song of Triumph, 91  
 Sower, Parable of the, 73  
 Stephen, St., 35, 234  
 Streeter, Canon B. H., 38, 189<sup>n</sup>,  
     211  
 Suffering (See Evil) and Chap. XII  
 "Suffering Servant," 223-4, 265  
 Survival of Gospels, 37<sup>f</sup>  
 Syria, 20, 38, 197, 205  
     — Northern, 258  
 Synagogue, 8-9, 18, 201  
  
 Talents, Parable of the, 33, 73  
 Targums, 205  
 Temple, 8-9, 17-18, 39, 207, 255,  
     256<sup>n</sup>  
     — Tax, 31, 207  
 Temptation, 28, 48-9, 59, 61, 85,  
     187-9, 215, 230, 240-1  
*Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*,  
     19, 24<sup>n</sup>  
*Thessalonians, Epistles to*, 232, 267  
 Tindale, 6, 253  
 Tomb, 199, 241  
     — Guard at, 31

- Torah, 18, 34, 191<sup>n</sup>, 206, 220, 266  
Tribute Money, 31  
Trinity, 31, 246, 267-8  
Truth, Spirit of, 3  
Two Houses, Parable of the, 52  
  
Unjust Steward, Parable of the, 31, 193  
Unprofitable Servant, Parable of the, 75  
  
Vicarious Sacrifice, 247  
Virgin Birth, 30, 30<sup>n</sup>, 194, 210  
  
Walking on the Sea, 31, 203  
War, Great, 25  
Water into Wine, 188  
Wheat and Tares, 31  
Wicked Husbandmen, Parable of the, 256  
—— Servant, Parable of the, 262  
Wisdom of God, 89  
Woes, 50-1  
Wrath (*See* Anger)  
Writings (Holy), 18  
  
Yoke, 191-3

---

---

*By the same Author*

A MODERN HANDBOOK  
OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

*By*

R. B. HENDERSON

M.A.

With an introduction by the

REV. PROFESSOR KENNETT, D.D.

"Should be welcomed by all who wish to teach the Old Testament in a modern way." —*Modern Churchman*.

"A courageous attempt to show that modern views of these Hebrew Scriptures can be made intensely interesting." —*Church of England Newspaper*.

"Dr. Kennett is justified in describing this volume as a courageous and constructive attempt to expound the religious history of the Jews."

—*Times Literary Supplement*.

"The best book of the kind that we know. [Those who are engaged in teaching the Old Testament cannot do better than use its wealth of scholarship and its suggestiveness in method of study as the basis of their own exploration]." —*A.M.A.*

4/6 net

— Published by —

CHRISTOPHERS : 22, Berners Street, London

---

---



BS 3555 Henderson, Ralph  
.H49 Bushill, 1880-  
The four  
witnesses,

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



20 624 628

BS 3555 Henderson, Ralph  
.H49 Bushill, 1880-  
The four  
witnesses,

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



20 624 628